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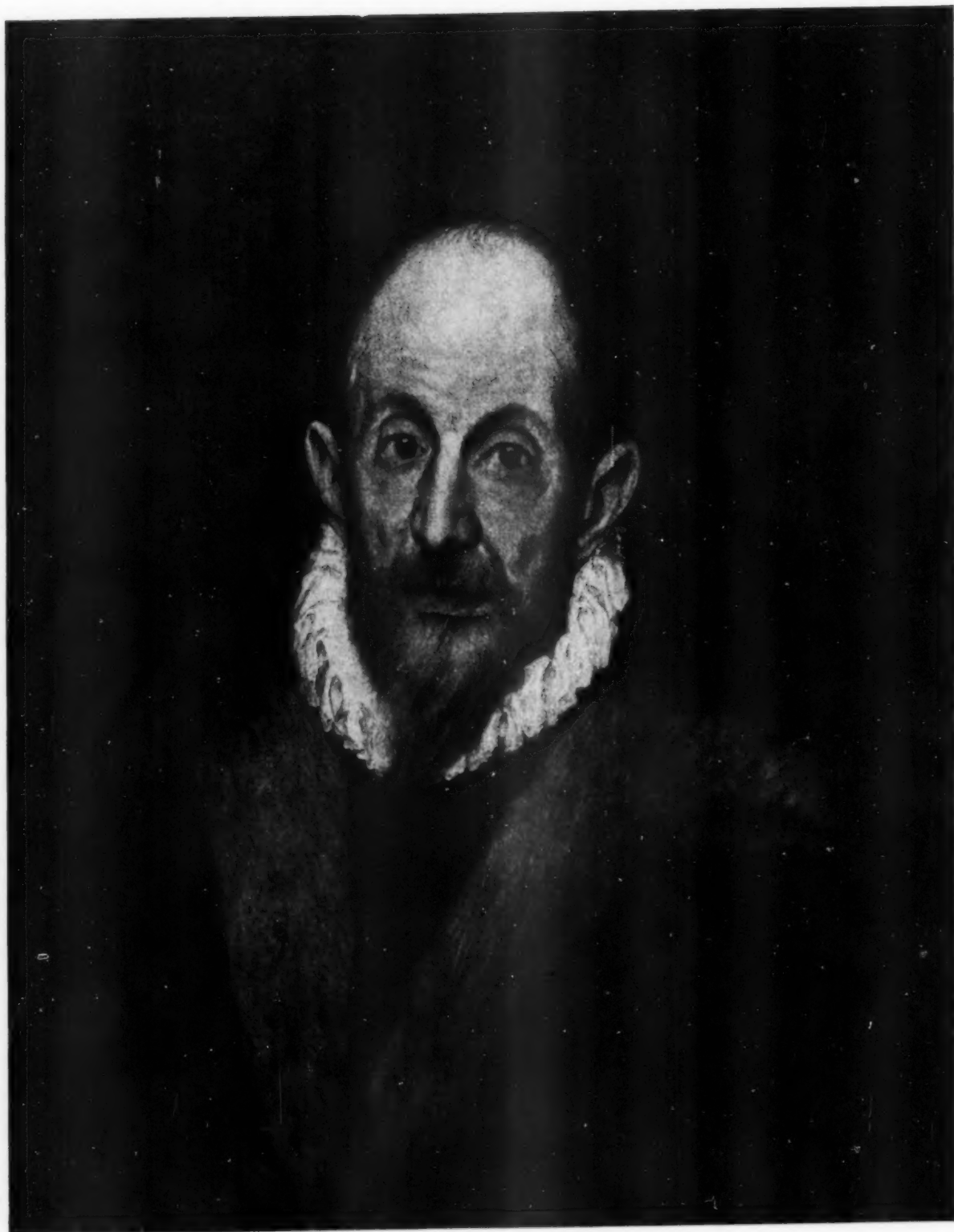
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THE ART QUARTERLY

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*Fig. 1. EL GRECO, Self-Portrait  
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art*



## EL GRECO AND HIS FAMILY

By STEPHAN BOURGEOIS

**D**OMENICO THEOTOCOPULI received the appellation "Il Greco" when he resided at Rome between 1570 and 1572, to underscore that he was a Greek. From Rome this designation followed him to Spain, where it was pronounced "El Greco" and was sometimes even used in legal documents. That he accepted this title with pride becomes evident from his insistence on signing his pictures in Greek letters, to which he added sometimes the word "Kres," the Cretan, to emphasize that he originated in the center of the Greek world which had furnished Europe and Asia with the enlightenment which now again was reviving the art and learning of the Renaissance. Of this inheritance every Greek is proud, even today, and so it was also in El Greco's time, especially since, to judge by his extensive library, he was not only thoroughly familiar with Greek poetry, drama, philosophy, history and the science of Antiquity, but also with the Greek theology of the middle ages, to which he added in time a complete mastery of Italian literature and science, to make him with Leonardo da Vinci the most intellectual of artists.

Actually to speak Greek and to be called a "Hellenist" was considered in those times the greatest distinction, making all participants in this cult members of a Universal brotherhood of subtle ramifications. How deep and vast El Greco's mind became with age may be gathered from a few observations made by Francisco Pacheco, painter, writer and incidentally Velasquez's father-in-law, who after a visit to Toledo in 1611, three years before the great Greek's death, wrote in his *Arte de la Pintura* (Vol. III, Ch. IV), that the painter was "a great philosopher, a man of witty sayings, who wrote about painting, architecture and sculpture." As happened often in El Greco's life, fate was unfavorable to him in this instance, since all of his writings have been lost.

This distinguished painter and thinker descended from an equally distinguished Greek family, whose story begins with a leaden seal discovered about forty years ago by Mr. K. M. Constantopulos in the Numismatic Museum of Athens.<sup>1</sup> This seal, which is of the fourteenth century, bears an inscription in Greek which reads in translation as follows: "Seal of Manuel of the Theotokis-family." Originally resident at Constantinople the Theotokis family furnished the Byzantine Empire for several centuries with "savants, ministres and

writers" according to Mr. Achilleus Kyrou.<sup>2</sup> After the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1452, the principal branch of the family established itself in Corfu and another branch in Crete.

The Corfite branch produced in the eighteenth century an eminent savant by the name of Nicephoros Theotokis, who wrote profusely on "Mathematics, general science and geography." As a prelate he also published two volumes of sermons, which are "remarkable for their stylistic purity and oratorical merit."<sup>3</sup> A descendant of the Cretan branch was discovered at the beginning of this century by a vice-consul of Spain, residing at Candia, who has remained anonymous. The latter communicated his findings to Mr. Cossio via his foreign office at Madrid: that an individual by the name of Leonidas Theotoki, the son of Manuel, was living in the village of Phodele not far from Rethymo. Thus we meet with a second member of the Theotokis family by the name of Manuel. If we add to this category El Greco's elder brother, whom we shall meet later and who also called himself "Manuel" or in the Italian version "Manusso," and the painter's own son, whom he called "Jorge-Manuel," it becomes clear that the prefix Manuel was a keyname in the famous family.

On the basis of Cossio's information concerning the descendants of the same stock still living in Crete, Mr. Achilleus Kyrou visited in 1923 the same locality to find still another group by the same name. A person by the name of Theotoki, whom he found in the village of Damasta was called "Georges." In Phodele itself, which is only a short distance, lived three more peasants by the name of Theotoki. All of them tilled the soil in the neighborhood of an old ruin called "Arcontico," which they said was the original seat of their family. In a near-by house, where they lived, Mr. Kyrou saw a Byzantine icon representing the *Descent from the Cross* which was signed: "Iohannes Theotokis." In the absence of any photograph it is impossible to state if this painter, who manifestly belonged to the same family, preceded El Greco or was born at a later date.

There is nothing unusual to a Greek mind in the way the name "Theotokis" has been enlarged into "Theotocopulos." On the contrary it is an old custom. The ending "pulos" means "son" or "descendant" and is added to denote that the bearer descends from a well-known family.

The word "Theotokis" is derived from the word *Theos*, which means "God" and from the root *tinto*, which means "to bear," to give birth. Theotokis means therefore "God-mother" and El Greco as Theotocopulos was in consequence called "the son of the God-mother." How the famous family acquired such a

divine name is obscure, but the descent of a great family from a divinity is nothing new in Greece where this custom is recorded from ancient times. Did not Achilles descend from Peleus and the Goddess Thetis, without mentioning many other heroes who claimed divine descent? In his book *The Survival of Mythology in the Greek Islands*,<sup>4</sup> Mr. Theodore Bent relates the case of a contemporary family, the Mavromichaelis of Manes, whose members prided themselves on being the direct descendants of a Nereid.

Unfortunately the artist was too secretive to throw any light on such family problems. It is also mystifying that with the exception of his signature on legal documents we have nothing written by his hand and not a single personal letter has been found which might have given us the key to his way of thinking and feeling. It seems therefore certain that he was especially secretive where his intimate life was concerned. In contrast to all the great Italian artists of his time, we do not even know the names of his father and mother. Fate was further unfavorable to his history, since most of the civil and ecclesiastical records of Crete were lost when the Turks conquered the island in 1669. We owe the knowledge of his birthplace to a fortunate incident which happened in 1582, when the dreaded Inquisition of Toledo invited El Greco to act as an interpreter in the case of a Greek called Michel Rizo Cracandil, who had been accused by a compatriot named Nicholas of being secretly a Mohamedan. The accusation does not lack a certain sense of humor. Nicholas asserted that Michel gestured a great deal like a Moor or a Turk when he was saying his prayers. Still worse, Michel did wash himself often and in an "immoderate" way. Such excessive cleanliness was indeed very suspect in a country which for centuries had seen Mohamedans go three times daily to the Mosque to wash before prayer. Had not several women been burned at the stake for such an immoderate habit?<sup>5</sup> Fortunately El Greco's translation of Michel's testimony helped to clear the latter in the eyes of the court and when the painter was asked by the judges where he had been born, he answered: "In the city (*ciudad* in Spanish) of Candia."<sup>6</sup>

To another incident of the same sort we owe the knowledge of the year of his birth. Asked how old he was on October 31, 1606 by an Ecclesiastical court of Toledo during a law suit, which the artist was forced to pursue with the Hospital of La Caridad of Illescas, near Toledo, he answered: "Sixty-five years old."<sup>7</sup> El Greco was therefore born, according to his own testimony, in 1541 in the city of Candia, the capital of Crete.

We are less fortunate when we try to discover the history of El Greco's



early life on the island. Neither do we know anything precise about his stay in Venice, which probably took place from 1568-70. The first document appears only in the latter year, when he arrived in Rome to stay in the Holy City for less than two years. Five more years pass without any documents and the artist appears in 1577 in Toledo.

From then on El Greco's name is frequently cited in documents. Otherwise he remained personally as silent as ever. He never speaks to anyone about his family, his life in Crete or Italy. Neither does he write letters, which might have thrown light on his thoughts and feelings. Face to face with such an enigma the student of El Greco's life and mind will ask himself: "Why was the Greek so secretive?" All those who are familiar with the history of Greek customs and manners will answer by reversing the question: "Because he was a Greek." To mention Plutarch, the greatest of all Greek biographers, who has described the lives of twenty-five of Greece's great men, do we remember a single figure of this type who wrote personal letters, not to speak of perpetuating himself with a biography such as Benvenuto Cellini wrote in El Greco's time? The answer is emphatically "No." Such personal revelations may be expected from other lands and climes, but they are decidedly taboo in Greece. And as it was in antiquity and the middle ages so it is still today, according to the best available information. To imagine, for example, that Pericles would have written love letters to Aspasia and seen them published, as happens often in our day, would have provoked Homeric laughter throughout Greece.

According to such customs a Greek was, and is still today, expected to be self-controlled in the eyes of his community. Consequently he will show a great deal of circumspection about his personal life and foibles. This is especially true when he is face to face with Eros' swift arrow, the tiny god whom Socrates called in Xenophon's *Banquet*: "A great demon and power, who equals in age the Immortal Gods, though to look at, he resembles but a child. That demon by his power is master of all things."<sup>8</sup>

No wonder that consequently every Greek thinks of Eros, even today, with a great deal of awe. Does not the elusive little demon watch perpetually for the weak spot in every young man's armor of self-reliance? No wonder, either, that every Greek claims complete privacy for his foibles, since forcibly he may succumb sooner or later to Eros' subtle powers.

El Greco's love for secrecy in all personal matter fits perfectly into this Greek pattern. The only allusion that he was in danger of succumbing to Eros may be found in a picture of 1577 (Fig. 5) which represents the following



*Fig. 2. EL GRECO, Jorge—Manuel Theotocopuli, El Greco's son, from the Burial of the Count of Orgas  
Toledo, Santo Tomé*



Fig. 3. EL GRECO, *The Holy Family*  
New York, *The Hispanic Society of America*



Fig. 4. EL GRECO, *The Holy Family*  
The Cleveland Museum of Art



proverb: "Man is fire, Woman kindles the flame, and the monkey (the devil) blows it out." In the next year, that is in 1578, the lady who kindled his flame presented him with a son. Only after El Greco became an old man and his son was grown up did he acknowledge him as such under the name of Jorge-Manuel in a legal document of the year 1604, which tells us that he is "twenty-six years old." In this way only do we become legally aware that he has a son, who was therefore born in the year 1578.

In the meantime El Greco's paternal heart seems to have become rather proud of the growing boy, since he included his effigy in 1585, at the age of seven years, in the *Burial of the Count of Orgaz*, his greatest masterpiece. Here we see Jorge-Manuel (Fig. 2) as he kneels in the foreground, dressed as a page, a candle in his hand. But how was El Greco going to identify his son without violating his love for secrecy? This dilemma the painter overcame with his usual subtlety. He placed an unobtrusive signature in the corner of a handkerchief which peeps from the boy's pocket. To the average reader it must have looked like an ordinary signature, such as the painter placed on most of his pictures. But only those who were familiar with the intricacies of the Greek language and especially numerals knew better, and they were only a few Hellenists like his friend Ant. Covarubbias and a small colony of Greeks residing at Toledo. The inscription reads as follows: "Domenico Theotocopuli epoei 1578." Manifestly the date refers to the year of the boy's birth and not to the picture. So consequently does the word *epoei* which has the double meaning of "he made it" or "he made him." No doubt the painter must have chuckled to himself when he succeeded in concealing his paternity at the same time as he acknowledged it to those who were already in the secret.

With the same secrecy El Greco relegated also the sweetheart of his youthful ardor to the background of his public life. Only when the artist is on his deathbed in the year 1614 does he mention her in his will as the "mother" of his son Jorge-Manuel, giving us for the first time her name as Donna Geronima de las Cuebas. Still more disconcerting is the fact that he acknowledges her as "a person of good confidence and conscience" without giving her the title "my wife." Under the circumstances such a qualification sounds more like the recommendation given to a devoted housekeeper than the remembrance of an ardent love felt long ago for the sweetheart of his former days.

Why this behavior? Had he been afraid in those early days of the matrimonial tie or did he prefer free love, pure and simple, to allow himself eventually a second choice after the devil might blow out the first fire? What-

ever the truth might be, one thing is certain, that El Greco was very sceptical of the permanence of the *joli jeu d'amour*, as one may easily gather from the frequent repetition of the Proverb.

Who was this mysterious lady? She belonged probably to a well-known family of artists, which played a certain role in the same period. One member of this family, Pedro de las Cuebas (1568-1633) was a painter who lived at Madrid, where he filled the position of a Master of the Casa de Desamparado. In 1627 he aspired to the position of the King's painter, only to see the much coveted prize go to the more talented Velasquez. This Pedro de las Cuebas may therefore have been a younger brother or cousin of the lady in question.

Suffice it to say that according to Manuel Cossio and Borja de San Roman, who published most of the documentation on El Greco's life, the painter never married. Neither in their opinion did he have another child. This opinion finds its own contradictions in Mr. Cossio's observations. In a carefully reasoned *Iconography*,<sup>9</sup> which never has been convincingly challenged, the Spanish author established the existence of eight self-portraits in El Greco's *oeuvre*, most of which are concealed in sacred subjects. In this group he included a number of *Holy Families* wherein El Greco plays the role of St. Joseph.

His face is characteristically *Kretan* in formation, very elongated and tapering down to the chin, which ends in a pointed, dark-brown beard. The nose is proportionally also very long and pointed. The nostrils are vibrant, revealing a personality endowed with a fiery temperament. Deep and thoughtful eyes indicate a love of distance from the world and its doings. A broad forehead, over which dark-brown hair protrudes in the center, is lifted into a high cranium, which is prolonged still further in the middle by way of a further elevation, which reminds us distantly of Buddha's "knot," a feature which may also be noticed in El Greco's *Self-Portrait* in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (Fig. 1).

Observations of this kind, which Mr. Cossio applied to a number of *Holy Families* allowed him to conclude that consequently "one may have motive to assume that the Virgin might be the painter's 'wife.'" That an artist should take such liberties with a sacred subject was nothing new during the Renaissance. Since the beginning of the fifteenth century it had been a sort of fashion with artists. Did not Fra Filippo Lippi use his sweetheart the "nun" Lucrezia Buti as the Madonna and his son by her, Filippino Lippi, as the Christ Child? Severe as the church was in matters of faith, the priesthood was quite as ready

to close its eyes in matters of art so long as the rendering of a sacred subject commanded the adoration of the faithful.

Once we accept Mr. Cossio's premise, that the *Holy Family* represents El Greco's family, a surprising perspective opens upon the artist's private life when we place side by side two representations of the subject, the first of which dates approximately from 1580-83 and is in the Hispanic Society of New York (Fig. 3) and the second version, dated ten years later, belongs to the Cleveland Museum (Fig. 4). In each version, the Virgin and Child are entirely different. This discrepancy occurred to Mr. Cossio<sup>10</sup> but he did not note that in each the role of St. Joseph is played by the identical man, that is by El Greco, probably because the picture was heavily overpainted at that time. A juxtaposition of these pictures will easily familiarize the reader with the two subjects. The Madonna in the first version is represented in the act of offering her breast to her child. She is a young lady of about nineteen or twenty years. Her face is serious and radiates the supreme happiness of motherhood. Black hair and thick eyebrows accentuate the upper part of her face, whose swelling cheeks descend by way of two inbent curves which mark the contour with a peculiar charm, into a pointed chin. Her boy is rather plump, heavy and stolid. Carefully his father scrutinizes him across the Mother's shoulder, as if he wishes to weigh his future capabilities.

In the Cleveland version El Greco is about ten years older. His hair has begun to recede away from the forehead, which is a sign that he is becoming bald. Lines have also traced the effect of time, reflection and suffering into his face and a gentle mellowness has obliterated a certain hardness which is noticeable in the first version. Quietly he offers a glass bowl filled with luscious fruits to the Mother and Child. The Mother has chosen two pears, which she drops casually into her Child's open hand. The presence of fruits or flowers in a composition during the Renaissance always reveals a symbolical meaning, and those who were familiar with contemporary literature on the subject, which was extensive, were easily able to decipher the meaning which the artist wished to convey. According to Mr. Harold Bailey<sup>11</sup> the word "pear" is identical with "pyre" (pyramid) and means "rising fire," or to use another word "love," which became personified by the Greeks in the god Eros.

Did El Greco wish to convey to the spectator that father, mother and child were bound by the same circuit, controlled by Eros, a discreet suggestion that the painter had succumbed for the second time to the tiny demon's arrow?

That the lady in question is different from the first Virgin may be seen by a



detailed examination of the Mother's features and those of the Child. In contrast with the first Child which was plump and stolid, the latter is dainty and endowed with delicate bones. His hair is also different. In contrast to the black hair of the first Child, the second wears a mass of curly, golden, reddish hair. His features duplicate those of the Mother, a tall aristocratic lady with a long, oval face, somewhat indolent of expression, a stubby nose, thin mouth and vacant eyes. Manifestly two different women and two different children have been chosen, whereas the father, El Greco, is twice the same. Once we accept the painter in the role of St. Joseph in both versions the conclusion imposes itself that the Madonna of the first version should represent Donna Geronima de las Cuebas and the plump boy Jorge-Manuel.

The identity of the second Virgin is still problematical. Time and further research may one day rescue her name and personality from the secrecy with which El Greco loved to surround his personal life.

Two decades passed after the artist had depicted himself in this way in the role of St. Joseph, and El Greco became increasingly old, wise and sceptical, to judge by the last portrait which he painted of himself (Fig. 1, Metropolitan Museum, New York). It was painted only a few years before his death. The lines of his face have deepened still further and his skin, formerly so healthy has become livid. His large eyes look quizzically at the spectator with a distant, strange gaze, which is characteristic of all his self-portraits. And yet does he actually notice the spectator or does his gaze traverse his body as if he were made of glass, to perceive only what is essential in his character? A gift which places on all of El Greco's portraits the stamp of physical irreality and absolute truth in the grasp of character. Above these fascinating eyes rules the high dome of his cranium with its super-elevation, now completely denuded of hair.



*Fig. 5. EL GRECO, The Proverb  
Hartford, Conn., Wadsworth Athenaeum (anonymous loan)*



*Fig. 6. EL GRECO, Don Hortensio Paravicino  
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts*



*Fig. 7. EL GRECO, Manusso Theotocopuli  
Florence, Conte A. Contini-Bonacossi Coll.*



A few years later, in 1614, the Greek is dead, understood fully only by a single personality, Don Hortensio Paravicino, a Trinitarian monk and an eminent poet, whose portrait is in the Boston Museum (Fig. 6). Following El Greco's love of secrecy he told all that he knew about the Greek in the symbolical language of four sonnets, to end the last one of the four with the dedicatory words:

He worked to create a greater century, a major Apelles,  
Not to acquire venal glory, and his greatness  
Future times will admire and not equal.

Before his death El Greco had the satisfaction of receiving in Toledo the visit of another member of the famous Theotokis family, who called himself in the usual fashion "Manuel" or in the Italian version "Manusso." He came to Spain to collect funds for the purpose of rescuing imprisoned Greeks from the Turkish yoke. The same Manusso testified in 1604<sup>12</sup> that he was "seventy-five years old." He was therefore born in the year 1529, allowing the conclusion that he may have been the painter's older brother or uncle. Manusso became very ill and died in Toledo. The portrait of an elderly Greek with fur cap, whose left side of the face is sagging as if he had suffered a stroke, has been identified as Manusso Theotocopulos and this attribution is plausible especially as his elongated features remind us of those of El Greco himself (Fig. 7, collection Conte A. Contini-Bonacossi, Florence). In the meantime Jorge-Manuel had become his aging father's principal helper and was charged by the latter with the execution of a number of large canvases, which in contrast to the father's precise technique, show the effect of slurring and a woolly colorism. From this kind of collaboration it becomes clear that the father gradually left the running of his work-shop to his son, to concentrate on specific problems which interested him. That he deposited in Jorge-Manuel all that he knew about art may be deduced from the fact that he left him all his pictures, finished and unfinished, as well as his extensive library, to continue in his steps with the object of perpetuating his fame and name into the future.

Was Jorge-Manuel capable of pursuing such a hazardous plan? The next two decades after his father's death were to show what was in store for the latter's name. Married at an early age to a lady by the name of Donna Alfonsa de los Morales, Jorge-Manuel saw himself the father of a son in the year 1604, whom he called "Gabriel." Donna Alfonsa did not live long. She died on November 19, 1617.<sup>13</sup> Thirty-three days later another lady by the name of

Donna Gregoria de Guzman presented Jorge-Manuel with a daughter who was named "Maria."<sup>14</sup> Thus it becomes evident that Jorge-Manuel had been leading a double life at the time his wife was still alive. That Gabriel may have been affected by the situation is probable, because the young man entered the convent of St. Augustine of Toledo in 1621, to renounce the name of Theotocopuli at the end of his novitiate and called himself after his mother "Gabriel de los Morales."<sup>15</sup>

In the same year Jorge-Manuel married at last the mother of his second child, who by this time was already four years old. Such pecadillos were not taken very seriously in those days. Did not Tirso da Molina, who incidentally was a monk, glorify the charms of free love in the story of Don Juan, the "seducer of Sevilla" (*el burlador de Sevilla*), who rushed from victory to victory on the battlefield of feminine hearts to become the model of many authors till Mozart immortalized his gallantry in *Don Giovanni*.

Donna Gregoria de Guzman does not seem to have been in a hurry to consummate a legal union with Jorge-Manuel. Before she consented to a final ceremony she made certain that his father's estate was still substantial by asking him to make a second inventory in the year 1621.<sup>16</sup> When she was convinced that everything was in order she finally was willing to change her name. A deciding factor was probably also Jorge-Manuel's nomination in the same year to the post of chief architect of the municipality, to which in time was added the title of Architect of the Royal castles.

For five years the life of the newly formed family goes its own quiet ways till Donna Gregoria presented Jorge-Manuel in 1627 with a second daughter who was called "Claudia." Two years later, in 1629, the lady died giving birth to a son who was called after his father "Jorge." Three male descendants remained therefore to carry El Greco's glorious name to posterity. The first was Jorge-Manuel, his son, the two others the latter's sons Gabriel and Jorge. Gabriel renounced his father's name, as we stated before and so did Jorge, who also adopted his mother's name to call himself de Guzman. Manifestly by this time El Greco's prestige had already so completely disappeared that his descendants felt no qualms at divesting themselves of their birthright to a great name.

Thus with Jorge-Manuel's death in 1631 the name of the famous Theotokis family which had received new laurels through El Greco's art, became again extinct in Spain. Sixty-one years had passed since El Greco's star had begun its meteoric ascent at Rome in 1570. From then it rose, espe-

cially at Toledo, by way of increasingly great and profound masterpieces, till with his death his name and fame began again to sink and disappear into obscurity. During two centuries his art and name remained in obscurity, until the nineteenth century at last was surprised to discover that the Greek has been one of the greatest geniuses of all time. Since then another century of painstaking research and analysis, to which a great many scholars contributed their share, revealed his *oeuvre* as a logical whole, from which in turn his personality is beginning to emerge dispelling the secrecy with which he loved to surround his personal life and ideas.

<sup>1</sup> Manuel Cossio, *El Greco*, Madrid, 1908, p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> "La patrie du Greco," *La Revue de Paris*, August, 1923, p. 916.

<sup>3</sup> A. R. Rangabe, *L'histoire de la Grèce moderne*, Paris, 1917, p. 62.

<sup>4</sup> *Archaeological Journal*, XLII (1866), 132.

<sup>5</sup> *Bulletin of the Royal Academy of History*, Madrid, 1893.

<sup>6</sup> *Archivo Historico Nacional, Inquisicion de Toledo*, Slg. 196, no. 171.

<sup>7</sup> Borja de San Roman, *Archivo Espagnol*, Tome III (1927), fol. 120, p. 169.

<sup>8</sup> *Socratic Discourses by Plato and Xenophon*, London, 1919, p. 192.

<sup>9</sup> M. Cossio, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-47.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 701, ref. 382.

<sup>11</sup> *The Lost Language of Symbolism*, London, 1912, p. 249.

<sup>12</sup> *Archivo Espagnol*, Doc. XIV, p. 169.

<sup>13</sup> B. de San Roman, *El Greco en Toledo*, Doc. 85, p. 223.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, Doc. 86, p. 223.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, Doc. 66.

<sup>16</sup> B. de San Roman, *Archivo Espagnol*, Doc. 35, p. 285.



## THE "CONCERT" BY NICOLAS POUSSIN

By PAUL JAMOT

This article is one of a series of studies of the Louvre Poussins on which the late Paul Jamot began to work in 1921. These studies, edited by Thérèse Bertin-Mouro, are to be published as "Etudes sur Nicolas Poussin" by Floury, Paris.

ONE might be tempted to ask oneself whether the *Concert* (Fig. 1),<sup>1</sup> instead of being a study for *Venus and Mercury*, was not executed later than this painting and taken from it.

In a mountainous landscape five cupids are assembled. One plays the viol; three others, sitting on the ground, sing. The fifth has thrown aside his lute and advances with outstretched arms, holding a garland in each hand.<sup>2</sup>

The obscurity which reigns over the history of this little canvas, of which nothing is known save that it comes from a revolutionary confiscation, lends some weight to this doubt. On the other hand a study painted in preparation for a picture is a thing almost unknown in the *oeuvre* of Poussin, whether it be a study of a detail or a sketch of the whole composition.

This is a fact surprising in a master whose art shows everywhere the marks of reflection and calculation. Among the numerous and admirable drawings which have been preserved, there are practically none that present studies of isolated figures and not a single drawing is known whereon this man, who has striven so hard to depict the movements of human passions, has sought, pen or pencil in hand, to depict the expression of a face. Almost always they are studies where one may follow the stages of a composition from the first project with almost schematic figures to those beautiful and powerful large pen and wash drawings, where the lines of the landscape and the distribution of the light vie with the attitudes of the personages for the total effect.<sup>3</sup> Let us not forget the testimony of Bellori concerning a method of work which Poussin probably employed alone among the great painters. This curious page deserves to be given here in its entirety:

When he wanted to make his compositions and had invented them, he then formed little models of wax<sup>4</sup> of all the figures in their attitudes, about half a span in size, and composed the story or fable in relief, to see the natural effects of the light or the shadow of the bodies. Afterwards he made other larger models and dressed them, to judge the arrangement of the folds of the draperies on the nude, and for this purpose he used fine linen



*Fig. 1. NICOLAS POUSSIN, The Concert  
Paris, Louvre*



Fig. 2. NICOLAS POUSSIN, *Venus and Mercury* (drawing)  
Paris, Louvre



Fig. 3. NICOLAS POUSSIN, *Ariadne* (wax statuette)  
Paris, Louvre



or cambric, wet, and a few small pieces of stuff sufficed for the variety of colors. Thus he designed the nude on the one hand, on the other the costume. And the drawings which he made of his inventions were not exactly careful in their contours, but were formed rather of simple lines and with a simple *clair-obscur* of watercolor which, however, gave full play to the movements and the expression.<sup>5</sup>

Does not this invaluable text make us understand why we have no painted sketches of Poussin, and why the majority of his drawings are studies of ensemble, where the general effect is more sought after than the detail? One can believe that the drawings served him to fix, and then to compare, the recollections of some of the groupings tried by means of the wax models. Finally, when, as much by reflection as by these various plastic experiments, he had decided upon his composition and the arrangement of his subject and put aside all uncertainty, there remained only the painting of the picture, where he proceeded by attacking his canvas at one corner, leading it wisely and methodically towards its goal.

However, from Poussin's having been by nature and habit reluctant to employ a certain procedure, it would need great boldness to conclude that he never had recourse to it. Amongst the paintings bearing his name and whose authenticity does not seem doubtful, one at least, the *Venus with Satyr* in London (Grautoff 24) (Fig. 4), presents those large and rapid strokes which are hardly ever found in Poussin's paintings and which are ordinarily the signs of a sketch. Is this Venus really a study for a more important painting which was or was not executed? Or is it a picture which, for some reason or other, Poussin had not pushed to that degree of accomplishment which he usually set himself to attain? The second hypothesis is not the least probable and the picture, in this relatively unfinished state, loses neither strength nor charm.

As to the *Concert*, it is also painted with a rather large touch, yet nothing calls for the name of a sketch and even less makes one think of it as a copy. Therefore I think that it is just a little picture where Poussin wanted to represent children, here playing musical instruments, just as in similar small canvases, one belonging to the Duke of Westminster, the other to the Hermitage, he painted children occupied with other games. Then, a little later, he made further use of this little picture by incorporating it into a great composition, the *Venus and Mercury*.

The engraving by Fabritius Chlarus being of 1636, the painting of *Venus*

and *Mercury* is necessarily of an earlier date and the *Concert* even earlier if, as we have just said, it preceded the large picture. But we shall not be satisfied with this indication. We know from Bellori (pp. 411-412) and Félibien (pp. 249-250) that from the very first days of his establishment in Rome in the spring of 1624, Poussin had a deep admiration for Titian's famous painting called *The Sacrifice to Venus* or *The Festival of the Cupids*, which belongs today to the Prado but was then at the Villa Ludovisi. He made numerous sketches in drawing, in painting and even in sculpture, of the children whom Titian had grouped around the statue of the goddess in a thousand playful attitudes. "Whence," says Bellori, "he acquired a beautiful manner of forming little children." Indeed, from this painting by Titian comes the admirable lineage of children, cupids or genii who figure in many of Poussin's compositions in a manner often gracious and playful, sometimes heroic. The *Concert* is presumably one of the first works where Poussin utilized the studies he had made from the Titian painting. These we may place at about 1626 to 1627.

Poussin, young pilgrim in Italy, assimilates the lesson of the great painters of the Renaissance until in his noble and virile old age he reigns uncontested over the empire of Art. By his combination of the French contribution with the antique and modern Roman traditions he has given to the world one of the most beautiful fruits of the Latin genius.

<sup>1</sup> Old collection (confiscations of emigrants during the Revolution). Louvre, Paris, No. 733; H. 22½"; W. 21"; canvas. Grautoff 27.

<sup>2</sup> This group of children is found again in a now lost painting, *Venus and Mercury*, which we know through the engraving by Fabritius Chlarus (Fabrizio Chiari). A preliminary drawing for this picture (Fig. 2) belongs to the Louvre and in it the same group of children is seen.

<sup>3</sup> This singular fact did not escape the notice of the old commentators. Here is what Dézallier d'Argenville says in his *Abrégé de la vie des plus fameux peintres*, Paris, 1762, IV, 37-38: "We have almost no finished drawings from his hand; a simple stroke of the pen, supported by a wash of bistre or India ink, expresses his thought, without seeking any proportion nor drawing of the heads which are often only ovals. There are no nudes of Poussin, nor parts drawn large, because he made nothing from nature except the landscapes, which he handled with a delicate and animated line, with some strokes of wash; one sees also some drawings entirely by pen on bistre paper, with light cross hatchings; others with pencil strokes washed with India ink; in short, his rich and fiery imagination must manifest itself at first glance, despite the mediocrity of execution by his hand which, since his paralysis, became trembling."

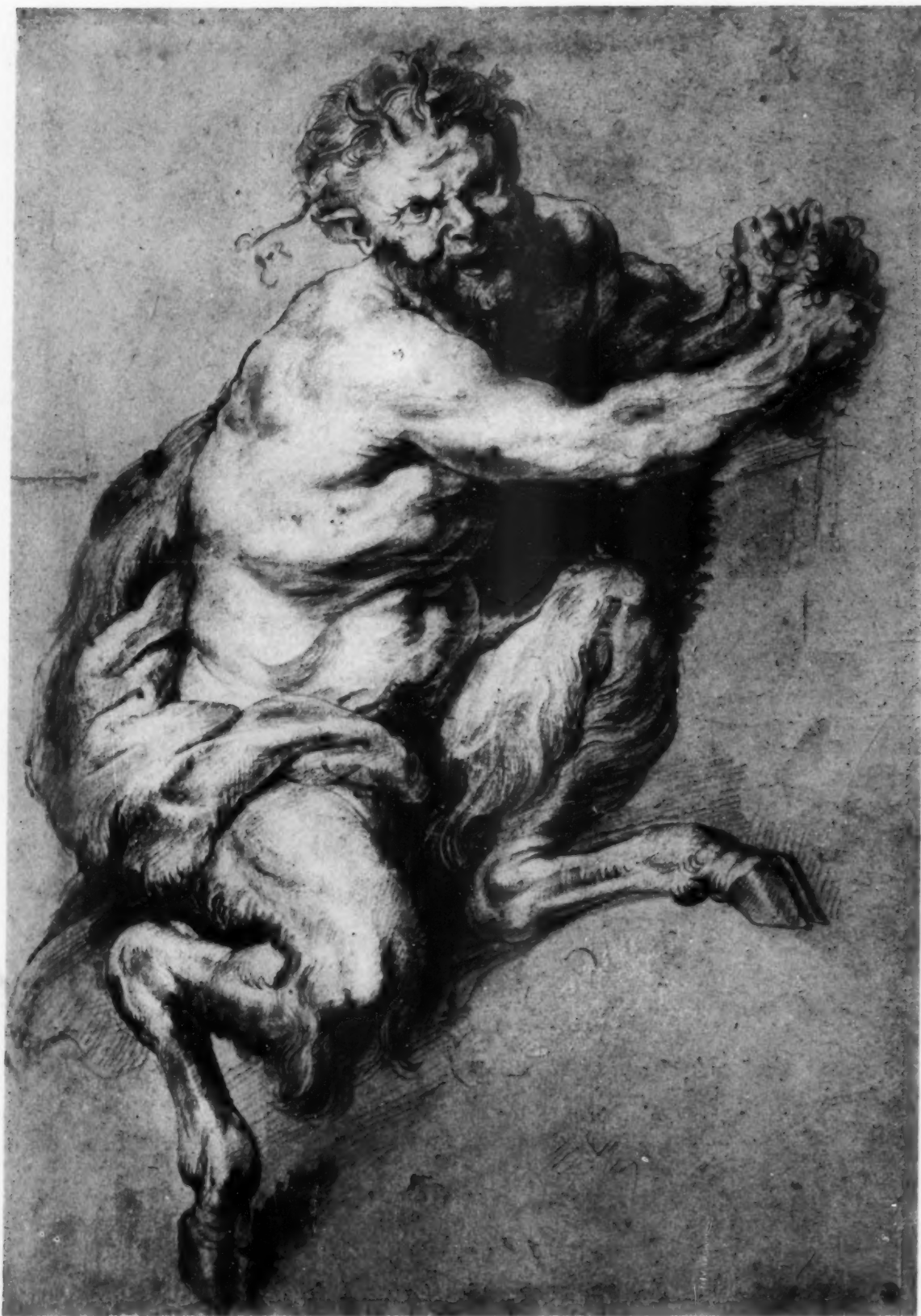
<sup>4</sup> The only one of such models which is preserved is perhaps the wax figure of the Vatican *Ariadne* (Fig. 3) which was bequeathed to the Louvre by Gatteaux.

<sup>5</sup> Bellori, *Vie de Nicolas Poussin*, trad. Rémond, 1903, pp. 33-34. Cf. Félibien, p. 403. It is good to quote also another text of the same time, the *Lettre du sieur Leblond de Latour à un de ses amis, contenant quelques instructions touchant la peinture*, dedicated to M. de Boisgarnier of Bordeaux, 1669: "He . . . prepared a kind of chest in which he made holes on the top and on the sides, which he opened or closed to illumine the interior at will. Thus he gave to his restricted picture the same light which his painting was to receive in the place which it was destined to occupy. The lower part of the chest was movable, pierced with holes and furnished with pegs. He then modeled with soft wax the nudes of the personages whom he wanted to place in the composition, draped them with thin stuffs, wet, formed irregularities of terrain; then, after having illumined his picture by opening the portholes necessary to give the desired light, he placed his eye at the determined point and thus saw the scene as if real." (Quoted by Grautoff, I, 415-416.)



*Fig. 4. NICOLAS POUSSIN, Venus with Satyr  
London, National Gallery*





*Fig. 1. PETER PAUL RUBENS, Faun Grasping a Bunch of Grapes (drawing)  
The Cleveland Museum of Art*

## RUBENS' DRAWING OF A FAUN IN CLEVELAND

By HENRY SAYLES FRANCIS

A *DRAWING OF A FAUN* (Fig. 1), by Peter Paul Rubens, recently added to the collection of the Cleveland Museum,<sup>1</sup> bears upon various bacchanalian subjects painted by him and not hitherto all recorded together.

Exhibited in the Flemish Exhibition at Brussels in 1910, and again in the Loan Exhibition of Flemish and Belgian Art at Burlington House in 1927, this drawing was associated with certain of these examples only.

At the time of its exhibition in 1910, the drawing belonged to Emile Wauters of Brussels, whose collector's mark it bears on the face of the drawing in the lower right corner. Subsequently, the drawing passed into the possession of Henry Oppenheimer of London, where it remained until the sale of his collection, after his death in 1936.<sup>2</sup> In the catalogue of the Burlington House Exhibition, in 1927, compiled by Sir Martin Conway, he noted that "the same figure occurs in a picture by Van Dyck, *The Education of Bacchus* (Fig. 2) belonging to Cav. Mario Menotti, Rome (*Klassiker der Kunst*, v.d., p. 59), in which the faun is the most prominent figure, while Bacchus drinks the juice of the grape and holds a golden vessel in his hands. This picture was formerly in the Palazzo Gentile, Genoa, attributed to Rubens. Van Dyck's drawing (Fig. 3) for the entire composition is at Weimar; the space under the faun's left leg is occupied, as in the picture, by a tigress suckling her cubs."<sup>3</sup>

The matter of attribution of any of these related versions can be arrived at purely through the stylistic quality of each. The Cleveland drawing, because of its incisive quality, can be surely assigned to Rubens' hand; the so-called Van Dyck drawing at Weimar, by careful comparison with the Cleveland drawing, though the latter contains more of the compositional scheme of the other pictures, nevertheless seems to be by a different hand than Rubens. The artist who drew it was too faithful in the rendering of certain accents and details, in his adaptation of the design, to allow of its being a freer sketch by Rubens himself, in different vein, for the more complete composition. Furthermore, the three-dimensional, sculptural characteristics of the Rubens drawing are at the same time lacking; and the compensatory freedom in the rendering of the linework, which the drawing decidedly has, definitely suggests the graphic manner of Van Dyck. The Menotti picture, on the other hand, is very

inferior to either drawing and for that matter to the other painted versions shortly to be discussed. It is weak in drawing, and in the proportions; it is lame in the handling of the whole within the space allotted though it appears to have had an addition to the canvas on the left; and judging by a poor reproduction, it lacks in painting quality in every way that would bespeak it as a work by Van Dyck, or other than the product of an inept follower of the Rubens school.

Conway, however, had reason to associate the three pictures; yet, in his summary account in the catalogue, though he refers to the Menotti article,<sup>4</sup> in which he treats both the school version, which Menotti himself owned, and the Weimar drawing, he (Conway) does not allude to another school work which Menotti also mentions in his article, the latter in Dresden, a picture which would presumably be better known than either of the other works. Called in this instance *Satyr and Tigress* (Fig. 4), the last is derived from the same source as the foregoing examples, but is even closer to the Cleveland drawing with which at the same time Conway was primarily concerned in describing. This version shows on the left the figure of the faun in the identical position and detail of the Cleveland drawing; the pyramidal character of the composition is achieved as suggested in the drawing and the whole has the aspect of the master. When compared, however, with yet another example (Fig. 6) now in the possession of Jules Defort, Brussels, formerly in the de Bousies collection, it too assumes its place as a replica by some less capable hand. By all appearances, the de Bousies picture has the greatest resilience, and in this aspect is closest to the Cleveland drawing. There is a kind of bravura about the figures and the incidental details which makes the Dresden example seem pedestrian. The dull quality of the latter can only indicate the reactionary abilities of the painter. In both these pictures, the faun who is placed under a tree, about which a grapevine twines, is shown squeezing a bunch of grapes, the juice from which falls partly into the mouth of, and partly into a ewer held by, one of the two *amorini* on the right. As in the Menotti picture and the two drawings, a lioness lies suckling her cubs amidst a mass of plucked fruit.<sup>5</sup>

Rooses<sup>6</sup> says the Spanish historian Pacheco early mentioned the subject specifically answering the description as among a group of pictures Rubens consigned to Spain as part of a diplomatic mission undertaken for the Archduchess Isabella in 1628. There appears to be no such picture recorded in the Prado, or so far, elsewhere in Spain today. There was, however, a picture which was once in the Palais Royal in Paris, in the Orleans collection, which was



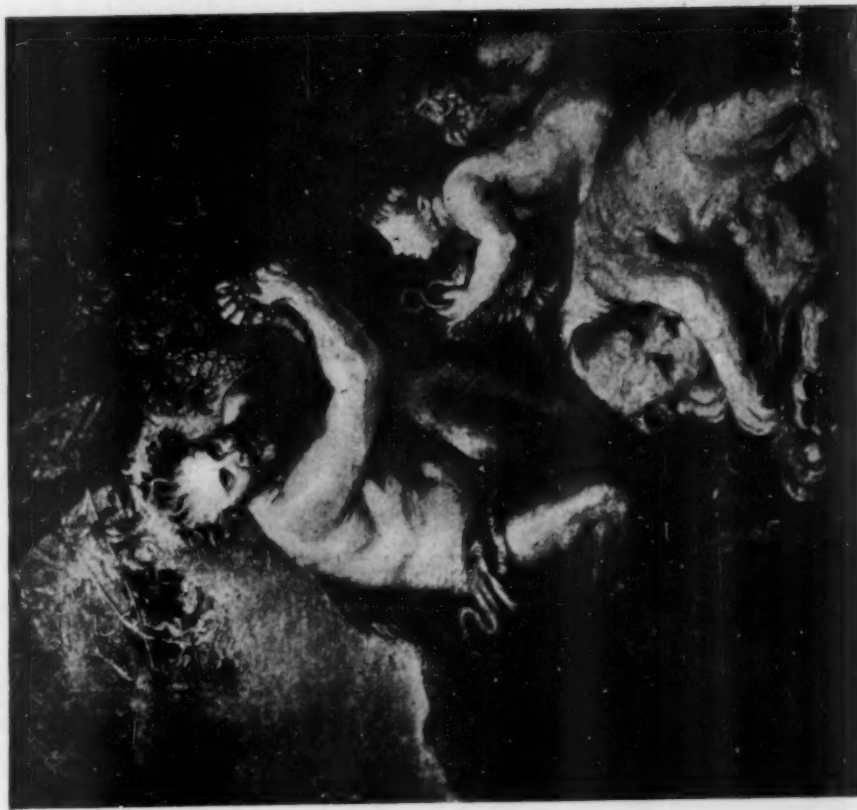


Fig. 2. ANTHONY VAN DYCK, *Education of Bacchus*  
Rome, Mario Menotti Coll.



Fig. 3. ANTHONY VAN DYCK, *Education of Bacchus* (drawing)  
Weimar Gallery



*Fig. 4. PETER PAUL RUBENS WORKSHOP*  
*Satyr and Tigress*  
*Dresden Gallery*



*Fig. 5. Nymph and Satyr*  
*Engraving by Varin of a lost painting by Rubens*

destroyed by fire early in the nineteenth century. It exists today only in an engraving (Fig. 5) done after the picture by the engraver Varin, in which it shows in the center the figure of the satyr, with a nymph, *amorini*, and the animals in a wide landscape, the whole in reverse. Evers, in his recent book<sup>7</sup> dates this lost composition as probably around 1611 and hardly later than 1615. This picture would then most likely be the first painted version of our subject; and because of the technical nature of the Cleveland drawing, which corresponds to the type of graphic style used by Rubens at that time, would, therefore, date it approximately around 1610-1615; and hence the numerous other versions would have followed more or less soon after that time. The de Bousies picture, somewhat later in style, and in a sense the freest if at the same time the closest to the Cleveland drawing, would probably not have been painted later than 1620.

Rubens was working in Antwerp during the period of the Cleveland drawing, 1610-1615. The characteristics of this style were the careful sculptural rendition of his linework, which tended later to be less formal and more sketchy, with less the idea of rendering the details than that of giving the more general aspect of the compositions. Later on, the oil sketches took the place of drawings to a great extent, although never completely, as there remain many thus carefully planned drawings for canvases on which Rubens himself painted toward the latter part of his career.

The Cleveland *Faun* formed the main structural part of the composition in which it figures, even though it is only one item in the developed subsequent composition. Like other drawings of the earlier period, it is full of exuberant life and rhythmical feeling. In such details as the linework of the shoulders, the shading around the arms, and the highlights and accents, the plastic quality throughout, it emanates all those specific if intangible nuances which stimulate the proper empathic reflexes. The Cleveland drawing is done in black chalk with bistre washes and with some traces of white chalk.

It has been suggested that Rubens was not an artist for whom drawing was the essential means of expression, as it was in the case of either Dürer or Rembrandt. Still, the brilliance of execution and the undeniable insight into the nature of his technique is so evident in his drawings like the present, that one can readily appraise the degree of his ability as compared to the other great draughtsmen before him.

Rubens will remain one of the titans among draughtsmen because of the sureness of his line, the great sculptural feeling he infused into his figures and

the scope of his mind as indicated by his complicated and creative designs. There is never any sense of hesitation in his work, never any question as to the direction of his taste and effort; always, there is present an ability to perceive the essential means and basic concept of an idea and to carry it superbly to its logical conclusion. There are few artists of any time of whom such can be said without some qualification; and few indeed who possessed the technical virtuosity necessary to carry out such diverse schemes as did Rubens.

<sup>1</sup> Length  $14\frac{15}{16}$ " (379 mm.) x  $10\frac{1}{4}$ " (261 mm.). Cleveland Museum of Art. Purchased from J. H. Wade Fund, 1943. *Bulletin of the C.M.A.*, April, 1944, p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> The Henry Oppenheimer Collection (Sale Catalogue, Christie's, London, July, 1936, No. 305).

<sup>3</sup> Catalogue of the Loan Exhibition of Flemish and Belgian Art, Burlington House, London, 1927, ed. Sir Martin Conway, M.P., no. 581.

<sup>4</sup> *Archivio Storico dell'Arte*, 1897, p. 288.

<sup>5</sup> There is yet another school version in Vienna.

<sup>6</sup> Max Rooses, *Rubens*, 2 vols. (Translated by Harold Child) London, 1904, p. 455.

<sup>7</sup> Hans Gerhard Evers, *Rubens und Sein Werk*, Brussels, 1943, p. 276. "That this work is earlier than 1618 can be proved by a letter from Rubens of April 28, 1618, in which he offers to Dudley Carlton a painting 'Leopardi cavati dal naturale con satiri e nimphe originale da mia mano, eccetto un bellissimo paese.'"



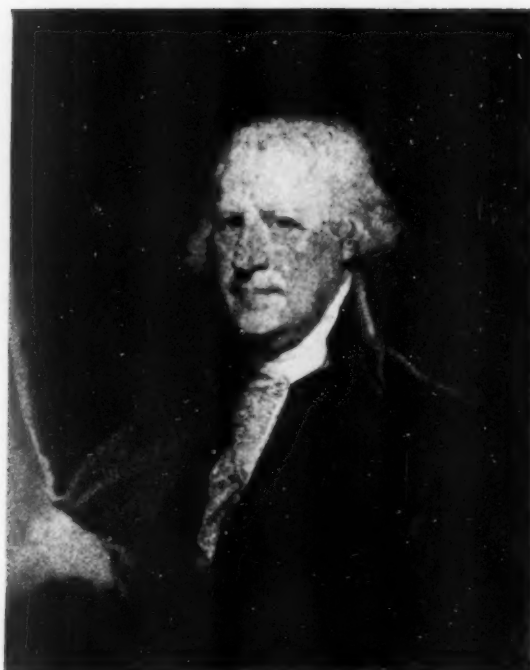


*Fig. 6. PETER PAUL RUBENS, Satyr and Tigress  
Brussels, Jules Defort Coll.*



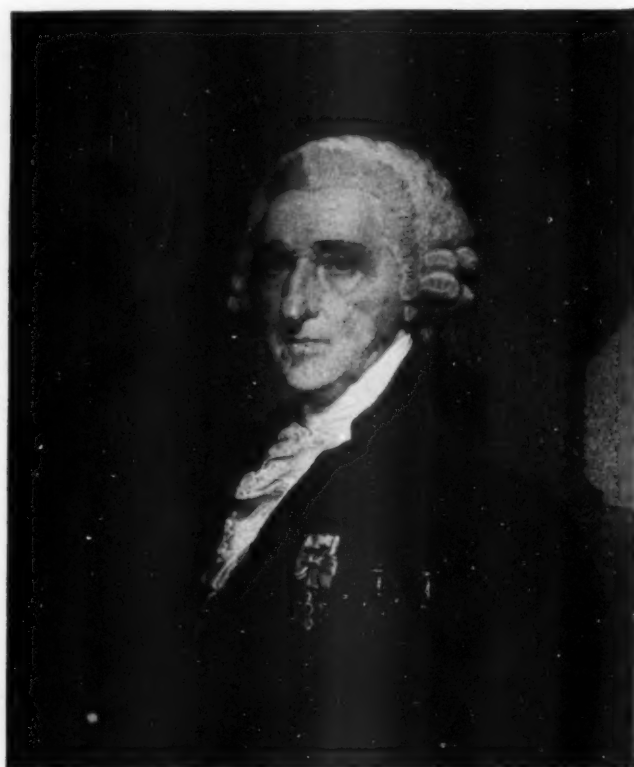
*Fig. 1. WILLIAM SMITH (1727-1803),  
AEt. 75. This is evidently the first of  
David Edwin's engravings of portraits  
by Gilbert Stuart.*

*New York Public Library*



*Fig. 2. EDWARD SHIPPEN (1728-1806),  
AEt. 74. Engraved by David Edwin after  
the portrait by Gilbert Stuart.*

*New York Public Library*



*Fig. 3. THOMAS MCKEAN (1734-1817). Entered  
According to Act of Congress, the 14 day of  
Jany. 1803, by Gilbert Stuart and David Edwin  
of the State of Pennsylvania.*

*New York Public Library*

## A MISDATED EPISODE IN DUNLAP

By H. E. DICKSON

WILLIAM DUNLAP'S *History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States* (New York, 1834) is of course the major source work on the early history of the arts in this nation. Considering the labor involved in gathering and handling such a mass of material and the difficult circumstances under which the work was done, one is surprised that the book does not contain a far higher percentage of error than is actually found in it. Nevertheless Dunlap did make mistakes, most of which have long since been recognized as such while a few, no doubt, remain to be spotted. Some of them, however, have been repeated in print so often that they are now rooted like troublesome weeds in the field of American art history.

Such appears to be the case with Dunlap's statement that in 1798, during Philadelphia's second extremely serious epidemic of yellow fever, the engraver David Edwin and the miniature painter Benjamin Trott took refuge near the Falls of the Schuylkill, within a short distance of Gilbert Stuart's residence in Germantown. Since the incident involves the names of three artists it has usually been mentioned in detailed accounts of the careers of these men; in fact, its appearance recently in Theodore Bolton's excellent article on Trott, the miniature painter, published in the Autumn, 1944, number of *The Art Quarterly* (VII, 257-290) has prompted me to labor the point in this note. For in this instance Dunlap clearly seems to have been in error as to the date.

It is first important that Dunlap's statement be seen as it appeared in the original context. The passage in the 1834 edition of his *History of the Arts of Design*, (I, 206) reads as follows:

We learn from Mr. David Edwin, the well known engraver, and son of the celebrated comedian, long the delight of London, that during the yellow fever, which afflicted Philadelphia in 1798, he and Mr. Trott, the miniature-painter, were neighbors to Mr. Stuart, near the Falls of the Schuylkill. Edwin was at that time engraving from the painter's portraits. "When I carried him a proof of Judge Shippen's picture," says the engraver, "he had a sitter with him, and the print was sent in. He came out to me, and expressed his gratification on seeing the result of my labour. 'You may consider it,' said he, 'the greatest compliment I ever paid you, when I leave my sitter to tell you how much I am pleased with this head.' When looking at a print from my engraving, of his portrait of Judge McKean, 'I will make this look

like his son,' said he, and taking some chalks, he removed the wig of the judge, and with a few scratches over the face, produced a likeness, when before there was no apparent similarity."

As in times to come this immortal work may be quoted to prove that American judges wore wigs, we will add that in 1798 they only wore them as other old gentlemen did, to cover baldness. As judges' wigs were never worn in the U. S.

This is the sort of dated item that especially appeals to the historian who is trying to compile a chronology of fixed points. Dunlap had heard the story from Edwin's own lips. He wrote it into his notes, date and all, when calling on Edwin in the spring of 1833, seeking information for his book on the arts.<sup>1</sup> And so this would seem to clinch the matter.

But it happens that two of the persons involved are reported to have been elsewhere during this fever epidemic of 1798. David Edwin, who was at that time working for the painter-engraver Edward Savage, is said to have gone with the latter to Burlington, N. J.; Edwin remembered it well and could tell amusing anecdotes of their trip up the Delaware in a rowboat when all hands were needed to manipulate Savage's big canvas of *The Washington Family* in the winds that blew over the river.<sup>2</sup> And Benjamin Trott, who in 1798 was listed in the New York directory as residing at No. 1 Wall Street, is thought to have gone to Albany with Elkanah Tisdale when the fever also visited Manhattan in that year.<sup>3</sup>

Let it be supposed, then, that Dunlap may have used the wrong date in the first-mentioned instance. It is quite possible that when allusion was made to the yellow fever he mistakenly assumed that it must have been the famous outbreak of 1798. But in these times the sickness made its appearance almost annually, and some of the lesser visitations were serious enough to be alarming at the time. In Philadelphia there were real epidemics in 1802, 1803 and 1805. Of these, everything being considered, 1802 may be suggested as the most likely date for the Stuart-Edwin-Trott episode.

In that year Stuart was still residing in Germantown; he moved in 1803 to the National Capital. Edwin in 1801 had gone to New York with Savage, but very soon left him and returned to Philadelphia. "Nothing is known of Trott's activity between the years 1800 and 1803," says Bolton in his article on the miniaturist, but in 1804 he was listed in the Philadelphia directory and he continued to live there until 1819. At least, then, none of the three persons concerned in the episode is known to have been in any *other* place than the environs of Philadelphia during the fever epidemic of 1802.



But it is evidence in Dunlap's *History* itself that points most directly to the suggested date. There Edwin is also quoted as having said: "About the year 1801 I had the happiness of forming an acquaintance with Mr. Gilbert Stuart." The acquaintance began, he asserted, with his "undertaking to engrave a portrait of Dr. [William] Smith (of the Pennsylvania University), from Mr. Stuart's painting." Also, in discussing the presumed meetings of 1798 Edwin told Dunlap that he "was at that time engraving from the painter's portraits," and went on to give details pertaining to his prints of Stuart's pictures of Judge Edward Shippen (Fig. 2) and Governor Thomas McKean (Fig. 3). Additional confirmation of these assertions is provided by the painter John Wesley Jarvis who recalled that shortly after his master Edward Savage and Edwin had come to New York (about 1801) "Edwin returned to Philadelphia, and soon, by engraving some of Stuart's portraits, became known and extensively employed."

Three of Edwin's engravings have been mentioned in this testimony—and *each of them bears evidence in the letterpress of having been executed about 1802*. Those of *William Smith* (Fig. 1) and *Edward Shippen* are inscribed each with the age attained by the subject in 1802, while that of *Thomas McKean* bears a copyright date of January, 1803.<sup>5</sup>

In all the data here summarized the one detail that does not fit in at all is the date 1798; in fact, it conflicts directly with Edwin's other statement to the effect that he first met Stuart "about 1801." The 1798, therefore, must be a mistake, and the events herein described must have taken place approximately in the following sequence:

During the yellow fever epidemic of 1798 David Edwin accompanied Edward Savage to Burlington, while Benjamin Trott and his friend Elkanah Tisdale probably visited Albany. Neither Edwin nor Trott visited Stuart at that time.

Later, Edwin, having gone to New York (probably early in 1801) with Savage, quickly returned to Philadelphia and "about 1801" met Stuart and undertook to engrave his portrait of *Provost William Smith*. When the yellow fever broke out in July and August of 1802 Edwin and Trott retreated to the Falls of the Schuylkill, not very far from Stuart's domicile in Germantown. Edwin carried a proof of his *Shippen* engraving to Stuart, who went out of his way to compliment him on the quality of his work. And perhaps on a slightly later occasion (no doubt the visit described by John Sartain in his *Reminiscences of a Very Old Man*, p. 194), when Edwin brought to Stuart a print of

his *McKean* engraving the portrait painter gave him a demonstration of some tricks of his profession.

This rectified order of events also adds a fixed point to Trott's chronology by placing him in Philadelphia in the summer of 1802.

<sup>1</sup> Dorothy C. Barck ed., *Diary of William Dunlap*, New York, 1931, III, 690.

<sup>2</sup> Henry Simpson, *The Lives of Eminent Philadelphians*, Philadelphia, 1859, p. 346; also *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XLVIII (1924), 199.

<sup>3</sup> An unidentified informant told Dunlap that "this was about the year '96," but Bolton is no doubt right in associating it with the epidemic of 1798.

<sup>4</sup> Dunlap, *History of the Arts*, II, 69, 76.

<sup>5</sup> David McNeely Stauffer, *American Engravers upon Copper and Steel*, New York, 1907, Nos. 814, 873 and 876 in the Checklist.

# THE LATIN LIFE OF PETER PAUL RUBENS BY HIS NEPHEW PHILIP A TRANSLATION

By L. R. LIND

IT is well known to students of the life of Rubens that a valuable and very early source for his biography is the brief memoir written in Latin by his nephew, Philip Rubens.<sup>1</sup> The text of this life, under the title *Vita Petri Pauli Rubenii*, was published for the first time in 1837 by the Baron de Reiffenberg.<sup>2</sup> The document was brought to the attention of the Belgian Academy in 1819 by M. van Hulthem; it was found by the Baron de Reiffenberg among the manuscripts of the Bibliothèque de Bourgogne. The first English translation of the Latin text, together with a translation of the more important notes in French by the Baron de Reiffenberg (marked R) and further notes by the present translator, is here presented. I have checked all facts with the latest and most complete account of the life of Rubens.<sup>3</sup>

## THE LIFE OF PETER PAUL RUBENS

Jan, the father of Peter Paul Rubens, was born at Antwerp. After he had traveled for seven years throughout Italy in order to cultivate his mind and to strengthen his judgment and had won the doctorate in both civil and canon law,<sup>4</sup> he returned to Flanders, where for six entire years<sup>5</sup> he fulfilled with great acclaim the office of alderman at Antwerp. When the civil wars broke out, of his own accord he left the fatherland to which he was endeared because of his meritorious services in government and the administration of justice that he might indulge his love of peace and quiet. With his wife and children he went to Cologne; here, in the year of human salvation 1577,<sup>6</sup> our Peter Paul was born and received in that place the elements of primary instruction.<sup>7</sup> He learned with such facility that he easily outstripped his classmates. In 1587, after the death of his father, Peter Paul returned with his mother to Antwerp, which gladly received him since that city offers easy return to all good people under terms by which their privileges of citizenship are restored to them. Here he completed his studies.<sup>8</sup>

Soon after he was entrusted to the household of Lady Margaret of Ligne, the widow of Philip, Count of Lalain,<sup>9</sup> where he spent some time among the high born youths called pages.

However, suddenly bored with life at court and drawn by his genius toward

the study of painting, he begged his mother, now that the financial resources of his parents were exhausted by the wars, to place him under the instruction of Adam van Noort, a painter of Antwerp.<sup>10</sup>

Under his tutelage for four years Peter Paul laid the foundations of his art with such success that he seemed to have been destined from birth for the painter's calling.

Then he spent almost four years more under Otto van Veen, the best of the Flemish painters of that time.

But when word got about that he was almost as good a painter as his teacher, Peter Paul was seized with a desire to see Italy and to view at first hand the most celebrated works of art, ancient and modern, in that country and to form his art after these models. He set out for Italy on May 9, 1600.

Upon reaching Venice, through good fortune he enjoyed the hospitality of a noble Mantuan, a gentleman in the household of Vincenzo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua and Montferrat. To this man Peter Paul showed some pictures he had painted. The gentleman showed them to the duke, a man very fond of painting and of all the liberal arts. The duke immediately called Rubens to him and made him a member of his household, where he remained seven years.<sup>11</sup>

In the meantime, however, Rubens journeyed to Rome, where he painted two pictures<sup>12</sup> in the church of the Holy Cross of Jerusalem at the orders of the most serene Archduke Albert of Austria,<sup>13</sup> who had under that title, i.e., of the Holy Cross of Jerusalem, once been a cardinal of the Holy Roman Church.

A little later<sup>14</sup> he was sent to Spain by the Duke of Mantua to offer His Catholic Majesty Philip the Fourth (*read* Third) a very handsome carriage and seven<sup>15</sup> thoroughbred horses. Returning from Spain, Rubens painted a picture on the great altar of the church of Santa Maria La Nova at Rome.<sup>16</sup>

He was soon called back to Flanders because of the dangerous illness of his mother. He rushed north with picked horses but found she had died before he arrived.<sup>17</sup>

When he returned to Flanders in 1609 his fame had already spread far and wide. The rulers Albert and Isabella wished him to paint their portraits. Lest he escape again to Italy, whither he was being called by the promise of huge rewards, they made him a member of the court and bound him with golden fetters.

Somewhat later he married<sup>18</sup> the daughter of Jan Brant, an alderman of



Antwerp,<sup>19</sup> and of Clara de Moy, whose sister<sup>20</sup> had not much earlier married Philip Rubens, his elder brother, secretary of Antwerp and an outstanding pupil of the immortal Justus Lipsius.

He lived some years in the home of his father-in-law;<sup>21</sup> during this period he painted the picture on the great altar of the parish church of St. Walburga at Antwerp which displays the crucifixion of our Lord.<sup>22</sup>

In the meantime<sup>23</sup> he purchased his own house and wide grounds in Antwerp, where he built a large summer house in Roman style, adapted for use as a studio, and planted a very extensive garden with all sorts of trees.

For although the rulers of Flanders preferred that he live in Brussels where they might more readily enjoy the fruits of his keen and elegant talent, he nevertheless prevailed upon them to allow him to dwell at Antwerp in order that the continual round of court affairs might not interfere with his Apellean art.

From Italy he caused to be gathered for him a great number of ancient statues and gems and a large quantity of old coins with which he adorned his home.

In addition to various paintings which he completed for the Emperor, the Pope, the King of England, the King of Poland, the Duke of Bavaria, the Duke of Neuburg, the Bishop of Würzburg, and for other princes, he hung his pictures in almost all the churches of Flanders.

At Antwerp especially he adorned with paintings the church of the Holy Virgin, the churches of the Praemonstratensians, the Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, and, above all, the new church of the fathers of the Society of Jesus, whose entire ceiling glows with his pictures.

It is amazing that he should have completed so many excellent works in so short a time when he was often called to Brussels by the Archduke Albert on state business. Albert had a particular fondness for Rubens. In fact, Rubens named his first-born son Albert, after the archduke. When the Archduke Albert died, Rubens continued to enjoy no less favor with Isabella, Albert's widow, and among all the great people of the court. He was particularly admired by the Marquis of Spinola, who often used to say that Rubens had so many talents that his knowledge of painting should be considered the least of them.

About this time<sup>24</sup> Marie de' Medici, the widowed queen of France, was building at Paris the magnificent palace of the Luxembourg. In order to make it complete in every detail, she wished Rubens to paint pictures for the galleries

of the palace; one set of pictures was to depict the life of Marie herself, the other the exploits of Henry IV. She realized only one half of her wishes, for her exile put an end to this very handsome undertaking; the portal, however, which contained her picture was fully completed.

While Rubens was at Paris, putting his pictures in their proper places and giving them the final touches in 1625, he met there by chance the Duke of Buckingham, who at that time was very high in the favor of the King of England and the Prince of Wales. The Duke begged Rubens to paint his portrait. He also confided to Rubens his heartfelt wish that the hatreds and wars stirred up heretofore between the King of England and the King of Spain would be lulled to rest.

Rubens brought this news back to Brussels. The Infanta Isabella bade him cherish and nourish the benevolent favor of the Duke of Buckingham. Rubens did so to the best of his ability and the Duke reciprocated by sending a member of his household to Antwerp to buy at the price of one hundred thousand florins all the treasures of Rubens. The wife of Rubens died meanwhile in 1626.<sup>25</sup>

In 1628 Rubens was sent by the Infanta Isabella to the court of the king in Spain. Here at his leisure he copied the most celebrated paintings of Titian in the Escorial. He returned to Spain the following year with the post of secretary of the privy council which he had obtained for himself and for his son Albert.

He traveled soon after to England<sup>26</sup> and brought about peace<sup>27</sup> between the monarchs of England and Spain. He was knighted<sup>28</sup> by the King of England, an honor confirmed for him by His Catholic Majesty, Philip IV.<sup>29</sup>

After this successful achievement he married a second time at Antwerp in 1630. His bride was Helena Fourment, a virgin of sixteen years who by the judgment of Paris would have conquered the Grecian Helen herself in beauty.

By her he had five children. Francis de Moncada, the Marquis of Aytona, governor of Flanders, received the first-born son from the baptismal font and named him Frans; he now sits in the senate of Brabant.

But alas! mortal affairs are fleeting and unstable, slippery and uncertain the possession of life. Envious death (ah, sorrow!) laid her hand upon Peter Paul at the height of his glory and snatched away that which was mortal in him. But his fame she could not injure; it will endure as long as lovers of knowledge shall exist.

He departed from life in 1640, at the age of sixty-four<sup>30</sup> and was buried at Antwerp in the chapel of St. James church by his widow and children in a tomb

built for him and his family. His widow afterwards married Baron Jan Baptist van Broeckhoven, Lord of Bergheyke, knight of the military order of St. James, councilor to his Catholic Majesty for the affairs of Flanders in Spain and for the Low Countries and plenipotentiary of the emperor for the peace established at Aachen with the most Christian king in 1668.

Rubens was always accustomed both winter and summer to attend the first mass, unless he was prevented from doing so by the gout from which he suffered grievously. After mass he applied himself to his work while a reader sat near him reading from Plutarch, Seneca, or some other book so that his attention was fixed both upon his painting and the reading.

In the art of painting he had many pupils, among whom excelled Peter Soutmans, the painter of Sigismund, King of Poland, Justus van Egmond, Erasmus Quellinus, Johannes Brouchorst, Johannes van den Hoecke, painter of the Archduke Leopold, and especially Anthony van Dyck, whose talent Rubens recognized. He received Van Dyck into his household and regarded him as the only pupil of his to make such progress in his art that he yielded first place to no one.

Rubens frequently urged the Infanta Isabella to make peace with the Dutch, a peace he longed for with his whole heart. She gave Rubens the task of obtaining that peace; he would easily have succeeded in the undertaking had not those who were envious of his fame continually upset the proceedings.<sup>81</sup>

In her name and at her behest he handled many transactions at Brussels with the Queen of France, the Duke of Orléans, Ladislaw, Prince of Poland, the Duke of Neuburg, and other great people to whom he was pleasing because of his easy speech and other gifts of nature.

But to come to an end, there remains the epitaph his friend, the excellent Gevaerts, wrote for Rubens:

D. O. M.  
Peter Paul Rubens, Knight,  
the son of Jan, alderman of this city,  
lord of the manor of Steen,  
who, among other gifts in which he marvellously excelled,  
gifts of learning, the ancient history of all the fine arts  
and graces of culture,  
deserved to be called the Apelles  
not only of his age  
but of all time,



and made a pathway to the friendship  
of kings and princes  
for himself.  
By Philip IV, king of the Spains and the Indies,  
he was chosen among the secretaries  
of the privy council,  
and, being sent to Charles, King of England,  
in the year 1629,  
he successfully laid the foundations of peace  
between these monarchs.  
He died in the year of salvation 1640, on May 30,  
at the age of 64 (*read 63*)

I shall say nothing of Albert, his son, who was secretary to Philip IV and showed himself worthy of his father, as various writings of his testify, some of them posthumous, to wit: On Roman Costume, especially the Wide-bordered Toga; On the Gems of Tiberius and Augustus; On the Asiatic Cities Which Built Temples to their Patron Gods or to the Emperor; On the Medalion of Augustus Inscribed "Asia Restored"; On the Birthday of Augustus. All these writings the famous Jan George Graevius, professor of rhetoric in Holland, collected from various scattered notes at the instance of Philip Rubens,<sup>32</sup> alderman of Antwerp, uncle of Albert and tutor of his daughters, without whom these writings would have become food for worms and moths.

Death snatched him away in the flower of his age while suffering from a broken heart. He had seen his only son, a boy of eleven, go mad and then die on the same night, after the boy's hand had been bitten by the single tooth of a dog he was petting. The boy had suffered no illness, however, for forty days immediately after the dog bit him.

The famous Nicholas Heinsius deplored his passing in an excellent poem, prefixed to the treatise I have mentioned on Roman costume, quite worthy of being read and admired by the most learned men. I give his epitaph here; it can be seen in the chapel just referred to:<sup>33</sup>

D. O. M.  
Albert Rubens, son of Peter Paul,  
Secretary of the Privy Council to the Catholic Monarch,  
lies here,



A man who yielded first place to no one  
in his knowledge of all polite letters  
Greek and Roman,<sup>34</sup> history and ancient lore.

He died in the mid course of his fame  
in the year of salvation 1657, Oct. 1, aged 43.

Dame Clara of Moy,

Ill with sorrow for her dear husband,  
followed him in death when scarcely  
a month had passed.

In the perpetual holiness piously established  
in this chapel

She passed away, aged 39.

R. I. P.

<sup>1</sup> See, for instance, *Rubens: Paintings and Drawings*, introduction by R. A. M. Stevenson, Phaidon Edition, Oxford University Press, 1939, p. 22: "Unhappily . . . Philip Rubens [Peter Paul's brother] died in 1611, leaving behind him a son who followed his father's profession of letters, and was the author of a Latin life of Peter Paul Rubens, a book of the greatest importance to the historical study of the painter." Stevenson has apparently not seen the "book" of which he writes so respectfully; it occupies, in fact, barely ten pages of the volume in which it was first printed.

<sup>2</sup> "Nouvelles Recherches sur Pierre-Paul Rubens, contenant une vie inédite de ce grand peintre, par Philippe Rubens, son neveu, avec des notes et des éclaircissemens recueillis par le baron de Reiffenberg, présenté à la séance du 17 janvier 1835"; *Nouveaux Mémoires de l'Académie royale des Sciences et Belles-Lettres de Bruxelles*, tome X (1837), pp. 1-21.

<sup>3</sup> Thieme-Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*; Leipzig, 1907-1939, in progress: "Rubens," by Gustav Glück, XXIX (1935), 137-146. Cited as "Glück" in my notes.

<sup>4</sup> At Rome, 1554 (R).

<sup>5</sup> From May 7, 1562, to May 27, 1568 (R).

<sup>6</sup> On June 29; the house at Cologne in which P. P. Rubens is supposed to have been born and where Marie de' Medici is also said to have died bears an inscription to this effect, published in the *Messenger des Sciences et des Arts*, Vols. 9 and 10, old series. The question of Rubens' birthplace is in doubt. The life of Philip Rubens, brother of Peter Paul, written by J. Brants, has been taken as evidence that Peter Paul was born at Antwerp (R). Glück 137, gives the result of modern research: Rubens was born on June 28, at Siegen, in modern Westphalia.

<sup>7</sup> Under his father's direction (R). Glück 137, says that Rubens went to school under Rombaut Verdonck and studied Latin and Greek until he was fourteen.

<sup>8</sup> In the college of the Jesuits (R). Glück does not mention the Jesuits.

<sup>9</sup> Lalaing: Glück 137.

<sup>10</sup> Rubens' first teacher was Tobias Verhaecht: Glück 137.

<sup>11</sup> From May 9, 1600, to Dec., 1608, more than eight and one-half years (R). ". . . die 8 nächsten Jahre": Glück 138.

<sup>12</sup> Actually three (R). Rubens went to Italy in July, 1601: Glück 138.

<sup>13</sup> *Austriaci* text; he later became regent of Flanders. He married his cousin, the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia, daughter of Philip II.

<sup>14</sup> In 1603: Glück 138.

<sup>15</sup> 6 Pferden: Glück 138.

<sup>16</sup> He painted *three* pictures, the Virgin surrounded by angels on the main altar and two others on each side (R).

<sup>17</sup> She died November 15, 1608. Rubens returned to Antwerp in December, 1608, or January, 1609, a fact which the following words seem to confirm (R). Glück 138 places her death on Oct. 19, 1608; Rubens returned to Antwerp on Oct. 28.

<sup>18</sup> Nov. 9, 1609 (R). Oct. 3: Glück 138.

<sup>19</sup> "Stadtsekretär": Glück 138.

<sup>20</sup> This sister's name was Maria; she married Philip on March 26, 1609: Glück 138.

<sup>21</sup> In 1611 he agreed to paint a descent from the cross, now in the church of Notre Dame, for the company of crossbowmen, in exchange for the repair of a wall which separated the house he had bought of the company from their exercise yard. It thus appears that Rubens did not dwell long in the house of his father-in-law (R).

<sup>22</sup> Set up in 1610 (R).

<sup>23</sup> Jan. 4, 1611: Glück 138.

<sup>24</sup> In 1620 (R).

<sup>25</sup> On Aug. 8: Glück 139.

<sup>26</sup> In 1629 (R).

<sup>27</sup> In 1630 (R).

<sup>28</sup> Dec. 15, 1630 (R). March 3: Glück 140.

<sup>29</sup> Aug. 20, 1631. The letters patent were registered March 2, 1632 (R). These facts are not recorded by Glück.

<sup>30</sup> Since Rubens was born June 28, 1577, and died May 30, 1640, he was only 62 years 11 months and a few days old when he died. He was in the 63d, not as the epitaph runs, 64th year of his age (R).

<sup>31</sup> The advice Rubens gave for the recognition of Dutch independence is the highest proof of his political wisdom (R).

<sup>32</sup> The father of Philip Rubens, author of this life of Peter Paul (R).

<sup>33</sup> Of St. James Church (R).

<sup>34</sup> The text reads *Latinae*; the monument itself has *Romanae* (R).

## GOLD CEREMONIAL VESSELS OF THE BRONZE AGE

By GEORGE LECHLER

"**I**N the beginning God gave to every people a cup and from this they drank their life. They all dipped in the water. Our cup is broken now; it has passed away." In these words did the last chief of the Digger Indians express the melancholy fact that the way of life, the culture pattern of his tribe had come to an end.<sup>1</sup>

The figure of speech which he employed is a significant one, for it bears out the contention that among Amerindians as among the ancient peoples of the Old World, the act of drinking was symbolic of life and culture. Nor has this symbolism completely died out, for even today we still speak of the cup of joy or sorrow, health or life. It is true, however, that in most instances our contemporaries use these phrases in a purely figurative sense, forgetting the deeper meaning attached to them in days gone by.

In early historic times ceremonial drinking coupled with libation, whether to ancestors, the gods or the living, was a most widely exercised ritual. Of this there is no question. But there has been some disagreement among investigators as to whether the custom existed among prehistoric European cultures. Some light can be thrown on this problem by an examination of a group of bowls and flasks made of gold, the most precious material available to prehistoric man.

Such an examination is particularly appropriate since the Detroit Institute of Arts recently acquired for its prehistoric gallery a hitherto unknown gold bowl, found near Gmünd in Swabia, Germany. We will prove later that it was the product of Celtic craftsmanship and that it was fabricated between 1100 and 1050 B.C. At this writing it is the only prehistoric European gold bowl in this country, although eighty-two other examples have come to light at various times.<sup>2</sup> These were discovered in thirty-five different sites, which are shown on our map (Fig. 81). They are concentrated for the most part in three main areas. The northern-most area is that around Denmark, the second along the Rhine Valley and the third farther east, around the Plain of Hungary.

The characteristics of design and ornamentation which mark the gold vessels found in and around Denmark are the most uniform; we may therefore analyze them first and from there proceed to the older finds in the other groups.<sup>3</sup>

The oldest gold bowl in this Nordic group is represented in Figures 7

and 8. It was unearthed from a secondary burial in a large, round barrow near Gönnebeck, Jutland. Fortunately, more than twenty accompanying gifts, including the fibula, the razor blade, the bronze knife and the sword were found with the bowl. These articles are specimens of a very sensitive typological series which changed their forms so rapidly that they are excellent time indicators.

Montelius has published a detailed chronology of fibulae, razor blades and bronze knives, and according to this study the specimens from Gönnebeck belong to period IIIb, 1200-1100 B.C.<sup>4</sup> A comparison of the Gönnebeck sword with those described by Kossinna in his analysis of Bronze Age swords would also place our weapon in the same period.<sup>5</sup>

In ornamentation this bowl is much more primitive than those of a later date, the pattern being composed of horizontal and vertical embossed and cross-ribbed lines which create a basket-like impression. It is interesting to note that O. Menghin observed the same decoration on identically-shaped clay vessels found in Ireland and belonging to the same and earlier periods (Fig. 11). They are evidently the models after which this gold bowl was patterned. The only ornamental innovation in the Gönnebeck specimen (Fig. 8) is found on the bottom of the bowl and consists of stamped circles grouped in zones. This is clearly the beginning of a new idea in ornamentation, an idea which later became very prevalent on gold bowls. But it should be noted that this pattern is very close to that found on gold sun discs of Irish origin, particularly the two found at Worms in the Rhine Valley (Fig. 64). These two discs are dated unmistakably by the accompanying bronze pin with swollen neck, which type belong exclusively to period IIc. The time sequence followed by the stamped circle motif strongly indicates that the Gönnebeck bowl was fabricated in the very beginning of period IIIb, that is, around 1200 B.C.

There exists another find of two gold bowls made at Langendorf (Figs. 12, 14) near Stralsund, Pomerania. One of them is nearly identical with that from Gönnebeck, the very same die having been used for embossing. This dates the

*Figs. 1a & 1b.* Gold bowl from Gmünd, Detroit Institute of Arts.

*Figs. 2 & 3.* Gold Bowl with star pattern from Eberswalde, Berlin Museum.

*Fig. 4.* Gold Bowl from Krottorf; Halle Museum.

*Fig. 5.* Wooden Bowl with star ornament in pokerwork and tinsels, Borum Eshoi, Denmark.

*Fig. 6.* Bronze Cup from Oestermarie, Bornholm.





Fig. 1a

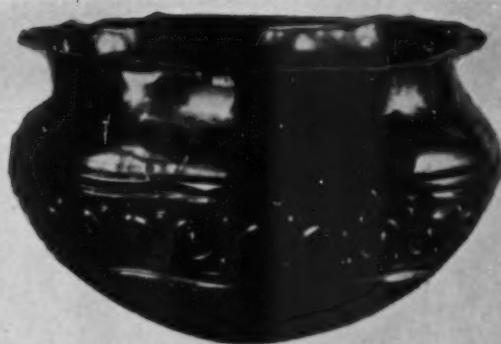


Fig. 1b



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4

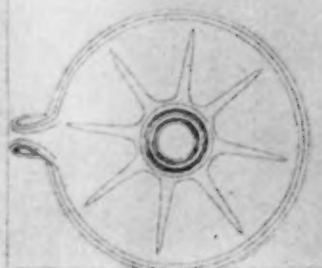
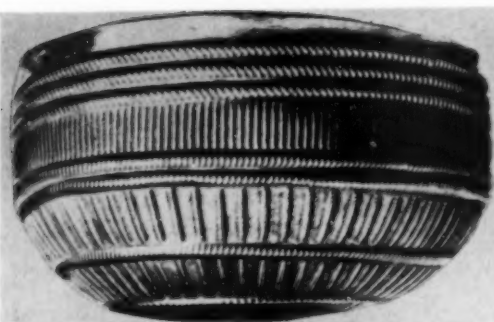


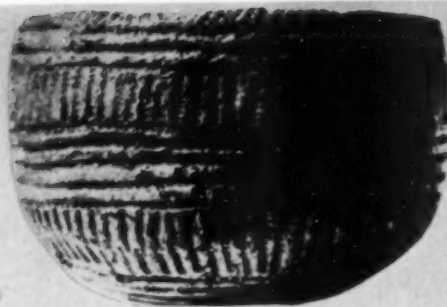
Fig. 5



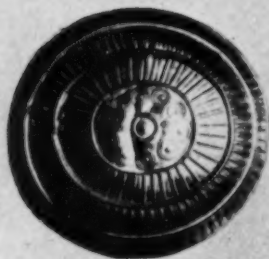
Fig. 6



*Fig. 7*



*Fig. 11*



*Fig. 8*



*Fig. 12*



*Fig. 15*



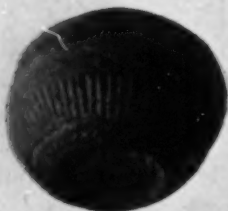
*Fig. 9*



*Fig. 16*



*Fig. 13*



*Fig. 10*



*Fig. 17*



*Fig. 14*



*Fig. 18*

Langendorf bowls as actually from the same hand and time as the Gönnebeck. But the second (Fig. 12) is decorated entirely with circles stamped in horizontal zones which are separated by roll-shaped lines, the space between them being filled with a string of embossed warts. It is here that this decorative wart motif makes its first appearance in the Northern group. It occurred earlier in the Celtic group and was therefore borrowed from that source (Figs. 38, 40).

The two bowls (Figs. 22-25) from Depenau, Holstein, are of importance because of the open ring with two swollen ends found with them. This is the early forerunner of the so-called golden "oath rings" which occurred during period V as Kossinna has shown in an excellent monograph.<sup>6</sup> This forerunner must be placed in period IV before 1000 B.C., a dating which is well corroborated by the identical profile of the bronze vessel on the wagon model from Peccatel (Fig. 20) which is itself so well dated by accompanying finds as belonging to period IV. With the dating of the Depenau specimen we have the key for the very similar hoards from Avernakö, Lavindsgaard, Boeslunde (Figs. 29-30), Eilby Lund (Figs. 31-33), Gjerndrup (Fig. 57), Albersdorf (Fig. 21) and Terheide. Among the observations which enable us to check on the correctness of the dating, the following, which bear on usage and intercultural relations, may be mentioned. A new stylistic element appears here for the first time: an additional handle ending in a horse head, which turns such gold vessels into ladle-like objects (Fig. 29). Such horse heads, which showed up first on razor blades in period II, persisted for a long time but changed their style in each period. For example, in period IV the ears are fused together into a kind of curved horn. This is their final stage; there are no horse heads in period V. Bowls found at Avernakö, Lavindsgaard, Boeslunde, Ladegaard, Gjerndrup, have horse head handles of the type of period IV. These handles are riveted to the body. The fact that the decoration is interrupted on some of the bowls at the point where the handles are attached

*Figs. 7 & 8. Gold Bowl from Gönnebeck, Kiel Museum.*

*Fig. 9. Decoration of a "food vessel" in comparison with Fig. 13.*

*Fig. 10. Decoration of a "food vessel" from Mount Stewart Cairn, Grey Abbey, Co. Down, Ulster, Ireland.*

*Fig. 11. Clay vessel from the Bishops Cairn, Glenwherry, Antrim; Belfast Museum.*

*Fig. 12. Gold Bowl from Langendorf, Stralsund Museum.*

*Fig. 13. Beaker from East Riding, England, in comparison with Fig. 42.*

*Fig. 14. Gold Bowl from Langendorf nearly identical with Gönnebeck; Stralsund Museum.*

*Fig. 15. Gold Bowl from Eberswalde forming a pair with Figs. 2 & 3; Berlin Museum.*

*Fig. 16. Food vessel from Loughlonghan, Broughshane, Antrim; Belfast Museum.*

*Fig. 17. Food vessel found as was Fig. 9. Compare Fig. 18.*

*Fig. 18. Gold Bowl from Gölenskamp.*



is an excellent indication that the gold bowls were actually manufactured in the Denmark area.

The hoard from Lavindsgaard with its eleven gold bowls is of particular interest because they were found nested in a large bronze vessel, an import from Italy. Montelius has published a study concerning all imported bronze vessels during the younger Nordic Bronze Age<sup>7</sup> in which he proves that this type of Italian vessel (Fig. 69) occurred in the North during period IV (1100-950 B.C.) and was produced in Italy at the beginning of Benacci I.<sup>8</sup> The center of Italian imports was located between the Elbe and Oder Rivers and most of the specimens are found north of the Berlin area. The distribution indicates clearly that the trade route followed the rivers down from Moravia and that the Illyrians were the intermediate agents.

The same foreign influence is evident in the second hoard from Boeslunde (Fig. 35). Near this town is a natural hill which had been changed artificially into a step pyramid of three terraces, each ten meters high and three wide. The platform on the top was fifty-three meters square and in it two bowls (Fig. 30) were found in 1842. Thirty years later four other vessels came to light on the middle terrace (Figs. 29, 35). We have here therefore two different deposits from a sacred place. Montelius supposed that an altar had existed on the platform because, after the introduction of Christianity, a church had been built beside this temple-mound. This second hoard consists of two goblets and two ladle-bowls. Each goblet has emblazoned on the bottom of its foot a central circle with eight lines radiating from it. Goblets form a standard type of the period IV pottery in the Lausitz Culture which is part of the Illyrian group (Fig. 34). The bronze bowl on the wagon model from Peccatel (Fig. 20) is similarly placed on a foot and thus demonstrates southeastern influence upon the Nordic Group.

The largest gold hoard of the Bronze Age ever uncovered in Europe, except those from Mycenae or Crete, is that from Eberswalde northeast of Berlin. It is composed of seventy-eight

*Fig. 19.* One of the two nearly identical bowls from Unterglauheim near Dillingen, Bavaria; Munich Museum.

*Fig. 20.* Wagon with kettle from Peccatel, Mecklenburg.

*Fig. 21.* Gold Bowl from Albersdorf, Ditmarschen, Holstein; Kiel Museum.

*Figs. 22 & 24.* Gold Bowl with cross pattern found at Depenau near Ploen.

*Figs. 23 & 25.* Gold Bowl with circle and zigzag pattern found at Depenau near Ploen, Holstein, Kiel Museum.

*Fig. 26.* Four gold boxes from Ireland, Dublin Museum.





Fig. 19



Fig. 20



Fig. 21

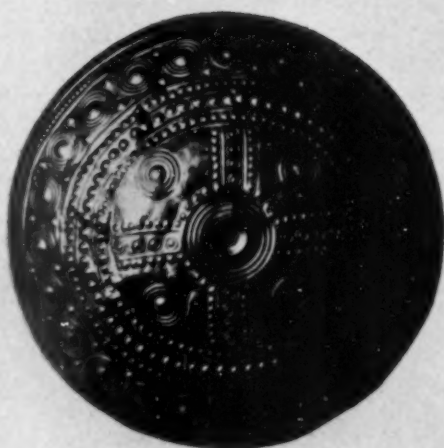


Fig. 22



Fig. 23



Fig. 24



Fig. 25

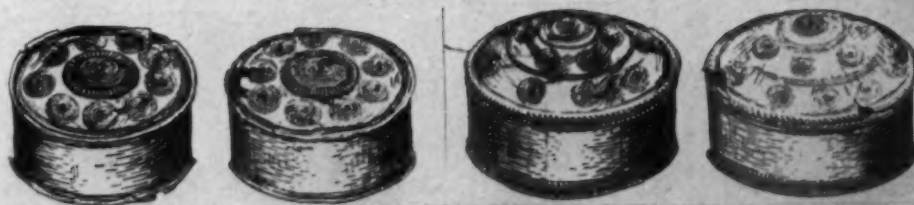


Fig. 26

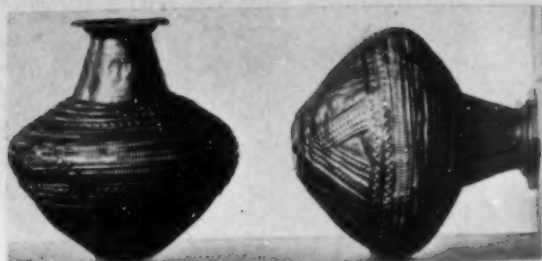


Fig. 27



Fig. 28



Fig. 29



Fig. 30



Fig. 31



Fig. 32



Fig. 33



Fig. 34



Fig. 35

items which weigh together 2494.50 grams. Besides a scarf ring, other smaller rings, spirals, wire, strips of sheet gold and ingots, it contains four pairs of gold bowls. Although each pair is decorated quite similarly, each one bears its own character. The profiles resemble those of Avernakö, Gmünd (Fig. 1b), Gjerndrup and Depenau (Figs. 57, 24, 25). The motifs on two bowls are zones of circles. The others have concentric lines with one or two zigzag lines around them. Two are similarly covered, one with an eight-spoked pattern (Fig. 15), and one with an eight-pointed star (Figs. 2, 3). The segments are filled with warts, thus being most similar to the Detroit vessel which, however, has only six spokes (Fig. 1a). The last pair differs more in pattern. One shows an undecorated zone around a middle circle followed by a ring of circles and ribbed lines (Fig. 54). The other one has around the middle circle concentric lines alternating with lines of warts and then a zone of circles.

The dating of this large hoard is made possible by the scarf ring with hook-like ends. It is twisted in one direction which is very typical of period IV, particularly of the first half. Add to this the similarities to the other finds and we have to conclude that Eberswalde also belongs to period IV or about 1000 B.C. at the latest.

The youngest find in this area came from Kohave near Kallehave (Fig. 27). Its form was clearly borrowed from the *Billendorf Kultur* group in eastern and middle Germany.<sup>9</sup> It is the only find which may be attributed to period V, but the very end of period IV seems to be justifiable too.

Let us now look at the other groups. The oldest gold vessel ever found in Europe is that from Rillaton (Cornwall), England (Fig. 42). It was unearthed from a mound together with a bronze dagger, which puts it in period I. According to G. Childe this would be about 1700 B.C. at the latest.<sup>10</sup> The shape is very typically that of a beaker, differing only in that the horizontally embossed roll-shaped lines cover the whole body. Occasionally clay beakers from Ireland also show such plastic horizontal decorations (Figs. 13, 16, 17). The bottom of the Rillaton beaker is flat ornamented with concentric circles. This early appearance of the circle motif is significant, necessitating the postulation of Irish influence on Danish ornamentation.

The beaker folk invaded England from the lower Rhine valley, and it is in this latter area that another gold bowl came to light, the form of which is similar to the very late "degenerated" beakers. The embossed horizontal lines link it with Rillaton and likewise the concentric circles on the bottom. New is the introduction of horizontal lines of warts (Fig. 18). This gold bowl was a single find from the top of a hill at Gölenkamp near Neuenhaus, so we can date it only by typological considerations. The big wart line is also present on the "golden hat" of Schifferstadt (Fig. 38), which belongs near the end of period II. Stylistically the Gölenkamp bowl still breathes the spirit of the beakers, permitting us to place it in period II. The linking with Irish-English influence is corroborated by the two gold discs (Fig. 64) from Worms (period IIc), which we know came from Ireland.

Kossinna emphasized that the specimens from Werder (Fig. 50) and Zürich (Figs. 36, 37) have the same type of warts as that from Gölenkamp (Fig. 18), but that is not quite correct.

Fig. 27. Gold flasks from Kohave near Kallehave, Seeland, Denmark; Copenhagen Museum.

Fig. 28. Clay vessel from Hoyerswerda.

Fig. 29. Gold Bowls with horsehead handles (found together with Fig. 35) from Boeslunde, Seeland, Denmark; Copenhagen Museum.

Fig. 30. One of the two nearly identical bowls from Boeslunde, Seeland, Denmark; Copenhagen Museum.

Figs. 31-33. The Three gold bowls from Eilby Lund, Fyen, Denmark; Copenhagen Museum.

Fig. 34. Goblets of baked clay found near Obornice, Poland; Poznan Museum.

Fig. 35. Goblets from Boeslunde, Seeland, Denmark; Copenhagen Museum.



In these two cases the warts are the result of a more pointed chasing chisel. The Gölenkamp piece reveals the use of an embossing tool with a half-globular end which produced a somewhat rounded wart. Thus even the type of wart is distinguishable from the later ones. This Rhine valley group, which may be called the Southwestern group, is very different in character from the Danish group; the varied forms of the gold vessels indicating greater creativeness. The forms here prove directly that the bowls were not used for profane drinking but for libation with symbolic drinking as a gesture. Kossinna and Schuchhardt eliminated the finds of Schifferstadt (Fig. 38) and Avanton (Fig. 44) as having nothing to do with the gold bowls of the North but they did not eliminate those from Werder (Fig. 50) or Kohave (Fig. 27), or the goblets from Boeslunde (Fig. 35) and Albersdorf (Fig. 21). These four cannot be interpreted correctly without taking the whole Southwestern group into consideration.

The Schifferstadt group consists of four specimens: the so-called "golden hat" and three hatchet blades with stop ridges (Fig. 38). It was the quaint shape of the gold bowl which suggested its name but it was never intended to be part of a real hat as erroneously assumed. J. Krüss has proved conclusively by microscopic analysis that before it was put away the "hat" contained a fermented mead-like substance.<sup>11</sup> Relics of yeast cells, grain cells and a substance which occurs only in honey were recognized by him. The bronze hatchets of the Schifferstadt specimens were mainly used in period II. Only a few are connected with finds dating from the beginning of period III.

The funnel-like vessel from Avanton near Poitiers, France (Fig. 44), is perhaps still older than the Schifferstadt. The upper part is not preserved but the whole vessel was probably conical. There are indications that a handle might have been attached at the top. This form is well known as the funnel-shaped *Rythos* from Minoan Crete (Fig. 43), which was contemporary with, or older than, our gold bowl group.

Crete and Mycenae had manifold relations with northwestern and even northern Europe as proved by the wide distribution of bee-hive graves, double axes, amber beads, spiral decorations and labyrinths. Hawkes has outlined some of these facts.<sup>12</sup> We know that the *Rythos* or libation vessels were produced in metal as well as clay, three silver examples having been found in the fourth shaft grave at Mycenae. They occurred in Crete until the late Minoan Period and it is therefore possible from the chronological viewpoint that they gave the stimulus to Avanton. The Rhone valley might have been the connecting trade route just as in the case of the double axes, or they might have come via Ireland. Naturally, this is a guess, but we have in Crete pictures (Figs. 72, 74) which even show the use of half-globular libation bowls decorated with circular motifs.<sup>13</sup> This funnel-shaped *Rythos* type must have existed in the Northern area, for a clay vessel of that type (Fig. 47) was found in eastern Germany at Treplin-Stadtberg, County Lebus, belonging to period V. Including stylistic considerations, the Avanton find may be placed in period IIa, about 1400-1300 B.C.

The form of the Gölenkamp bowl (Fig. 18) survived until period IV, as indicated by the grave at Unterglauheim. Here three bronze vessels imported from Italy were unearthed in a barrow. Two were identical flat globular vessels. The third was a big embossed bronze bucket with two handles (Fig. 73), in which two gold bowls had been placed, bound to each other with gold wire (Fig. 19). It is said that cremation relics were observed with the finds. The dating is eleventh century, certainly before 1000 B.C. The decoration is the logical continuation of Gölenkamp with the addition of circles.

Near Villeneuve-St. Vistre, Dep. Marne, France, two gold vases of the same size and shape, varying in decoration, were found under a huge stone (Fig. 49).<sup>14</sup> The additional two gold bracelets of broad sheet gold, three finger rings and a bunch of thin gold wire give this hoard an arrangement similar to that of Eberswalde. The flasklike bowls bear a particular relation to the Werder find (Fig. 50), because if one reconstructs the latter as it was before the neck was crushed down, a distinct similarity in shape is revealed. The time of the Villeneuve example must be Reineckes Hallstatt I, which corresponds to period IV. Dechelette<sup>15</sup> is right in stressing in



connection with this find that the cultural center was eastern France-southwestern Germany; the bracelets point that out. The Rhine Valley might have been the source of gold, for gold washing was still alive there in the past century.

The flasklike shape of the gold vessel from Werder (Fig. 50) is scarcely possible without the influence of Villeneuve. The triangular decoration points to that likewise. But there is another relation which also indicates the influence of the Southwest on the North. The Werder bowl shows a zone of swimming birds close to the bottom, a kind of animal decoration which brings it close to the Zürich bowl (Figs. 36, 37) on which animals, namely, a stag and dogs are pictured also. The hoard from Werder was found under a big stone and contained two spirals made of thin gold wire and used as bracelets; beside that, two bracelets with spirals at the ends had been placed. This type went out of use with period IV; not one find is known from period V. The fact that the bracelets are decorated with groups of rafter ornaments makes it necessary to place this hoard at the beginning of period IV, after 1100 B.C.

Mjövik in southern Sweden (Fig. 41) might have been influenced in its somewhat egglike globular shape by forms similar to that just described. It belongs in period IV too, particularly since influence from Rongères (Fig. 40) is also noticeable.<sup>10</sup>

The two flasks from Kohave near Kallehave represent forms common in Hallstatt and indicate with certainty a penetration from the South; they belong stylistically to the eastern sphere of the Southwestern Group and must be imports into Denmark (Fig. 27). They are certainly close to the types of clay flasks pictured under Figure 28.<sup>9</sup>

The mutual exchange of ideas between the Northern and the Southwestern Groups is illustrated by the hoard found at Zürich, Switzerland (Figs. 36, 37). The big gold bowl, the largest such Bronze Age find ever excavated, was found covered by a clay pot standing on a flat stone. Its diameter is 25 cm. and it weighs 910 gr., twelve times more than the other gold bowls. The half-globular body is covered with warts, with the exception of a circle around the bottom, seven crescents and seven animals: a stag and six dogs. This identification of the animals seems quite correct, since such scenes occur frequently. There exists a rock carving of the Bronze Age in Sweden in which seven dogs are pictured giving tongue.<sup>17</sup> Almgren made clear that the Swedish rock carvings are connected with religious rites, particularly of the sun.<sup>18</sup> The religious significance of the animals is also indicated in another case: a hunting scene composed of a stag, four dogs, hunters, a procession and a chariot engraved on a face vessel found at Elsenau<sup>19</sup> and dating from the earliest Iron Age of the lower Wista (Weichsel) river valley. In the Breslau Museum<sup>20</sup> is a clay vase from Lahse, Silesia, of the late Illyrian culture which shows a stag hunt. An archer with a dog shoots a stag; he is followed by two men on horseback and another riding on a stag. The stag is quite an old mythological motif connected with sun or moon myths, as for instance, the Greek *Aktaeon* or as in the *Sólarliod* of the *Edda*. The oldest representative of a stag rider is found in a dolmen of the New Stone Age at Alvão, Portugal.

Thus we may suppose religious or mythological significance for the fret on the Zürich bowl. Above this fret are found discs and four crescents pictured alternately. It does not seem advisable to place the Zürich find in the same period as those of Gönnebeck and Langendorf. It belongs quite clearly to period IV, particularly because on the situla Trezzo, Benacci I, we have a fret of stag and dogs which is stylistically very close to Zürich (Fig. 70).

The gold bowl of Rongères near Varennes, Brittany (Fig. 40), likewise throws light on the period and the relations between the Northern and Southwestern Groups.<sup>14</sup> Like the Werder bowl, this one was accompanied by a bracelet ending in spirals, by two rolls of thin gold wire with loops on the ends and a finger ring of sheet gold with overlapping ends (Fig. 39). The bracelet represents the Bohemian type of period II (Reinecke B.C.). The Southwestern Group had cross connections through the Main-Rhine-Marne valleys. It is clear, too, that Rongères cannot be too distant in time from Langendorf (Fig. 12). The globular shape and the horizontally cross-ribbed lines indicate that. Like Gölenkamp (Fig. 18) it has a circle with five concentric

lines on the bottom. Rongères, contrary to Kossinna's viewpoint, must have influenced the North since it is the older. This is borne out by the shape of the Swedish Mjövik bowl which is closely related to it in shape. This would point to connections overseas (cf. maps, Figs. 82, 83). The horizontal line of big warts just like that on the upper part of the Schifferstadt bowl (Fig. 38), indicates clearly that Rongères is completely inside the Southwestern Group and is therefore not an import from Denmark.

Krottorf, County Oschersleben, certainly had closer contact with the Northern Group as indicated by the cross ornament (Fig. 4), but its use of the string of large warts connects it with Gölenkamp, Schifferstadt, Rongères and Werder. By the way, this wart decoration appears only on Southwestern pottery. Krottorf is a single find and its decoration connects both groups. It must be placed stylistically close to Gmünd (Figs. 1a, 1b), and is undoubtedly older than Depenau (Figs. 22, 23).

In the foregoing pages we have mentioned Ireland quite often, and it would be natural to expect gold bowls from that area. Indeed two are known but both are lost. It is very regrettable that no picture exists of the bowl reported from Strafford but it is mentioned<sup>21</sup> that it was similar to that of Devil's Bit, County Tipperary, which is at least preserved by a picture. If we look at Figure 68 we should keep in mind that the drawing is done without correct perspective which makes the rim appear as pointed, but the vessel was circular and the rim likewise. Since Schifferstadt (Fig. 38) had a circle-decorated flat rim it may be quite possible that on the Devil's Bit specimen the rim was really collar-like and tilted outward. That it was called a "crown" by the romantic eighteenth century people proves no more than that it must have been like most of the gold bowls, of very thin gold sheets. It was, besides, too small for a crown, or for a hat as Menghin suggests. The points filling the spandrels between the circles are the same as on the sun discs of Worms, which are also Irish. Since the gold disc from Bath which is from period III has this spandril motive developed even further (Fig. 62) it is necessary to place Devil's Bit before period III, which makes it older than the Scandinavian pieces. Rongères would be contemporary with it. Thus, the explanation of Kossinna that Devil's Bit is an import to Ireland is not tenable—on the contrary, it establishes without doubt that Ireland influenced the Northern Group. Furthermore, the bottom of Devil's Bit is pointed with a knoblike wart, which fits into the style of the Western Group but not of the North at all.

The Irish influence is quite well corroborated by the distribution of the Lunulae, collar-like necklaces of sheet gold, which are all of Irish craftsmanship and belong to the period after 1500 B.C. (Fig. 82). The sun discs, thirty-four pieces from twenty-five sites, show exactly the same distribution (Fig. 83). Here it has to be admitted that Scandinavia did more than borrow, it started a development of its own, a development markedly parallel to that undergone by our gold bowls. The sun discs occurred at the same time as the gold bowls, namely, periods I to IV in Ireland and periods II-III in Scandinavia.

But there are four gold vessels (Fig. 26) from Ireland in the Dublin Museum which belong to period II. They are boxes with lids and bottoms snapped to cylindrical bodies by grooves.

Fig. 36. Gold Bowl from Zürich-Altstetten; Zürich Museum.

Fig. 37. Detail of Fig. 36.

Fig. 38. The "golden hat" from Schifferstadt with two bronze hatchets found with it; Worms Museum.

Fig. 39. Bracelet, spirals and ring of gold found with Gold Bowl Fig. 40.

Fig. 40. Gold Bowl from Rongères, France; Louvre Museum.

Fig. 41. Gold Bowl from Mjövik, Sweden; Stockholm Museum.

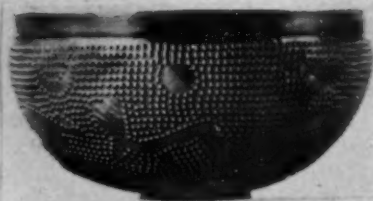


Fig. 36

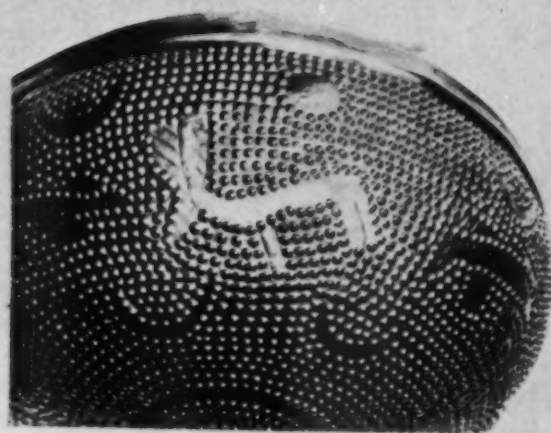


Fig. 37



Fig. 38



Fig. 39

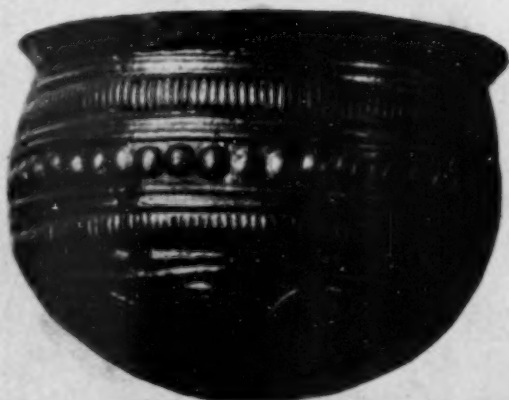


Fig. 40



Fig. 41



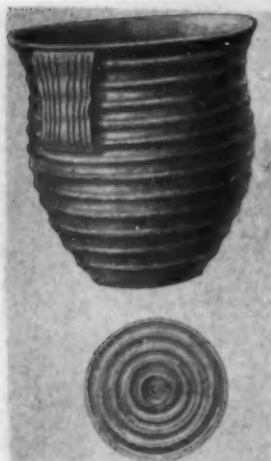


Fig. 42



Fig. 43



Fig. 44



Fig. 45



Fig. 46



Fig. 47



Fig. 48

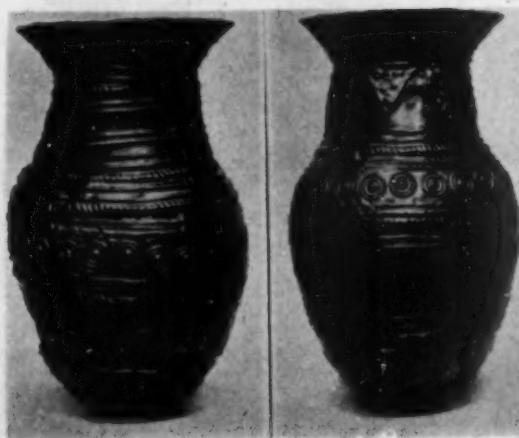


Fig. 49



Fig. 50



Two of the four boxes contained a pair of gold bracelets each. Menghin first mentioned them in connection with the gold bowls but did not commit himself on whether such bowls were the forerunners of another series of bronze bowls in Scandinavia, the so-called "hanging bowls." These were preceded by discs worn by ladies on the girdle in front of the skirt, then replaced at the end of period II by flat boxes decorated like the discs. The differences between these and the Irish models resulted from manufacturing techniques since the former were cast in bronze. The flat bottom and flat cylindrical body were made of one piece and the lid was held by a flat middle handle; similar handles were attached to the rims of the boxes. By pulling the girdle through all three, the box was kept closed with the bottom showing in front.

This parallel case elevates the conclusion of the Irish origin of the gold bowls to an incontestable fact, particularly since Gönnebeck (Fig. 7) later reiterated the design and form of Irish clay vessels (Fig. 11) and since Rillaton, the oldest gold vessel, is made of Irish gold (Fig. 42).

Another hoard of gigantic proportions, discovered in 1759 at Nesmy, Vendée, France, has also unfortunately been lost. Among the gold vessels described was a *possette*, a bowl and a cup without handle. These finds would have been vitally important as a bridge between Ireland and the two groups on the continent.

A fragment of a gold vessel is known from Dep. Côtes du Nord. Although only a cast of the neck of a flasklike jar is in existence, we can venture on the reconstruction of the complete vessel (Fig. 46). It must have been a late piece from the end of period IV since the lost body was riveted to the neck. We have similar types of bronze vessels made of two parts riveted together as shown in Figure 48. This shows that flasks not too unlike those found at Kohave near Kallenhav (Fig. 27), must have existed in the West too. The other possibility for the reconstruction of the neck from Côtes du Nord is that it might have belonged to a vessel somewhat similar to Figure 45 which was found in southern England. But a form like that of Figure 45 might have actually influenced specimens like Figure 49 from Villeneuve, where we have the same triangular decoration underneath the rim, or even the form of Albersdorf (Fig. 21). All this would point to an influence from the West, particularly Ireland.

To do justice to the North we must mention that certain stylistic elements like the large eight-pointed star on Eberswalde (Fig. 3) might have originated in Scandinavia. We reproduce some wooden bowls from period II (Fig. 5) which show such a star done in pokerwork as a central decoration, and a bronze cup from period III (Fig. 6) found at Oestermarie. Kossinna took this as definite proof that the gold bowls originated in the North but he overlooked the fact that for all these elements precedents existed in Ireland, particularly if we look at the ornamentation of the sun discs as well. A comparison of Figures 9 and 15 with Figures 1b, 62, 66, 80 is quite revealing. The Danish sun disc (Fig. 66) contains the essential element of the decoration which appears on the bowl from Gmünd (Fig. 1a), and the Irish sun disc (Fig. 64) is very close in its pattern to the bowl from Smörkullen (Figs. 63 and 67). The significance of the similarities between the decoration on vessels of clay or other material to that on vessels of gold cannot be overestimated. The pottery from the Hallstatt barrows of southwestern Germany for instance,

Fig. 42. Gold vessel of typical beaker form from Rillaton, Cornwall, England; British Museum.

Fig. 43. Three Minoan funnel *rythons*, decorative motives and form to compare with Fig. 44.

Fig. 44. Gold *rython* from Avanton Dep. Vienne, France; Louvre Museum.

Fig. 45. Clay vessel from Broad Down, Farway, Devon, England. Compare Fig. 49.

Fig. 46. Neck of a gold vessel, Côtes du Nord, Brittany.

Fig. 47. Clay vessel of *rython* form found at Trepplin near Frankfort on the Oder River, Period V.

Fig. 48. Bronze vessel found at Grevenkrug, Holstein.

Fig. 49. Gold vessels from Villeneuve-St. Vistre near Epernay, Dep. Marne, France; Louvre Museum.

Fig. 50. Gold vessel found at Werder west of Berlin; Berlin Museum. Note the zone of birds toward the bottom.

offers a type of richly decorated plates (Figs. 60, 61) which had no practical but only ceremonial meaning as A. Rieth has pointed out.<sup>22</sup> All the stylistic elements of the sun discs as well as of the gold bowls, appear there. This may be due to a very similar ceremonial function. Since they belong to Hallstatt C, they represent an influence from the Celtic gold bowls, but their main significance for our discussion is that the elements of decoration in question are very widespread and are by no means typically Nordic as Kossinna tried to show. In this matter Ireland and the Southwestern Group stand on their own. All that can be conceded is that the Northern Group acquired later on a somewhat distinct local coloring.

Now let us turn in our survey to the Eastern Group. One piece, now in the Bruckenthal Museum at Hermannstadt (Fig. 51) is known from Transylvania. This bowl demonstrates that there was a connection between the Eastern, the Western and the Northern Groups. The hoard from Eberswalde contains two bowls which by their artistic feeling are not too far from the Hermannstadt specimen. Their circle ornaments are contrasted with the undecorated surface (Fig. 54) in a fashion quite different from that usually employed in the West and North where the craftsmen covered the whole vessel with embossed ornaments. The Hermannstadt find combines circles and warts, another indication of a relation to the West and North. The two handles which end in free spirals, were not attached by rivets but were cut out of the same sheet as the bowl. The handle ends are similar to the Bohemian bracelets spoken of before. We may therefore place this find in period IV. The handles indicate original Hallstatt craftsmanship since such free-ending handles appear very often from earliest Hallstatt time onward. The decoration of the neck by a lambrequin pattern shows Southeastern influence.

The four bowls from Bihar, Hungary, which are now in the Museum of Natural History at Vienna have the same type of free-ending handles but without spirals (Fig. 55). They are of heavy thick sheet gold like Zürich, and indeed the form of three bowls is somewhat near to Zürich too (Fig. 36). The globular bodies, however, are flatter and the necks have a stronger *cavetto*, making the brims nearly horizontal. The bodies are decorated with vertically embossed flutings around a circle on the bottom which is bulged inward. Warts run around the edge between the neck and the body and between the rim and the neck. The fourth bowl has no neck and the handle is broken off. The cannelures or flutings of the body are bordered by three horizontal vertically ribbed and embossed lines.

We have many bronze cups of thin bronze sheet in the eastern as well as in the western Hallstatt area (Fig. 59a, b). They appear in northern Europe too—probably imports. A stylistic relationship to these bronze cups is present in the Bihar gold bowls. But this relationship is evident in the four bowls or cups from Angyalföld (Budapest).<sup>23</sup> Three are in the Budapest Museum and one in The British Museum, London. Three are very much alike. In shape and ornament they are practically identical with the Hallstatt bronze cups (Figs. 52, 53). It would seem to be more advisable to place them in period V than in IV as Menghin placed them. Bihar belongs more nearly to period IV than V, but the general impression is that the Eastern Group not only started later but came to its own stylistic development after the gold bowl development in the West had

Fig. 51. Gold Bowl in the Bruckenthal Museum, Hermannstadt, Transylvania.

Fig. 52. One of three very similar gold bowls from Angyalföld, Budapest; Budapest Museum.

Fig. 53. The fourth bowl from Angyalföld, Budapest; Budapest Museum.

Fig. 54. Gold Bowl from Eberswalde which indicates stylistic relation to Fig. 51; Berlin Museum.

Fig. 55. One of three very similar gold bowls found at Bihar, Hungary; Vienna Museum.

Fig. 56. Bronze bowl from Badelund near Vesterås, Sweden, with similarity to the clock pendulum pattern of Fig. 53.

Fig. 57. Bowl of gold and silver alloy found at Gjerndrup, Denmark; Copenhagen Museum.

Fig. 58. Gold Bowl found at Michalkov, Poland; Lwow Museum.

Fig. 59a. Bronze cup from Tolfa, Etruria.

Fig. 59b. Bronze cup from Brook, Mecklenburg, with ornamentation similar to that of gold bowls.



Fig. 51



Fig. 52



Fig. 54



Fig. 53



Fig. 55



Fig. 56



Fig. 57



Fig. 58



Fig. 59a

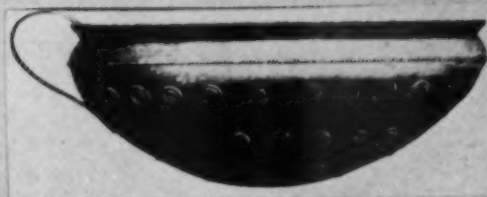


Fig. 59b





Fig. 60

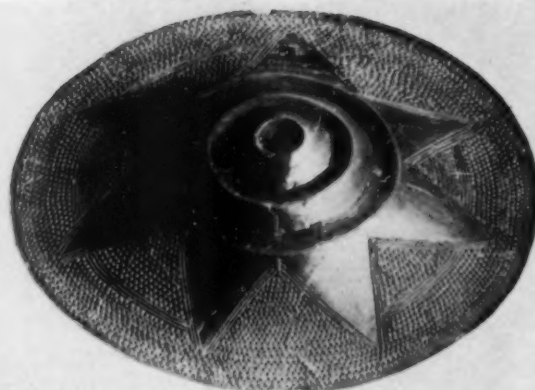


Fig. 61



Fig. 63



Fig. 62



Fig. 64



Fig. 65



Fig. 66



Fig. 67



come to an end. The fourth bowl of Angyalföld (Fig. 53) is decorated with a "clock pendulum" motive which again is found on late bronze cups, particularly in Scandinavia where the round end is formed of either round embossings or concentric circles (Fig. 56). This demands a late dating of Angyalföld. This late dating again is particularly true concerning the find from Vlcitrón (Wultschitrón, Wultsi Trnben, Walschitrón) in Bulgaria (Sofia Museum) which cannot be dated earlier than Hallstatt C.<sup>24</sup> In this group is an undecorated two-handled bowl of Hallstatt profile as well as two small cups and one larger cup, all of late Hallstatt character. Interesting is a triple vessel consisting of three oval flat cups which could only have been used for the libation of three different liquids at the same time.<sup>25</sup> The whole find, which includes some decorated platelike discs with onion-shaped centers, is more Thracian in its appearance than Hallstatt.

The last find to be mentioned is decorated with nine big oblong or mastoid-like embossed warts—a stylistic form typical of Illyrian pottery, which was decorated in period II with very mammary-like warts changing later into protruding bulges. Our specimen, found at Michalkov, Galicia, Poland (Fig. 58) represents a very late Bronze Age type.<sup>26</sup> These fifteen vessels indicate a separate group which had received stimulation from the West and North but which developed on its own.<sup>27</sup>

The influence of bronze cups or vessels is noticeable in the Northern Group too; Gjerndrup showing warts on the flat rim, which pattern, with this one exception, is only on bronze cups. It may be that the influence came from the Southeastern Group, but this is a mere suspicion, which however gains credibility from the fact that Gjerndrup is an alloy of gold and silver which at this time was utilized only in southeastern Europe. The relationships of the three groups discussed above, both in time and in their influence upon one another, are exceedingly complex. The chart which appears below should serve to clarify these matters (Fig. 84).

To understand the use of the gold bowls let us examine some of the big bronze buckets picturing scenes in which appear bowls of the same form as those we are considering. At Lavindsgaard and Unterglauheim such buckets are actually found together with gold bowls. Some of these bronze buckets are engraved with symbolic ornaments similar to those which appear on sun discs, such as the sun wheel and zones of concentric circles. The Lavingsgaard bronze vessel carries the symbolic swanboat with the sun wheel typical of sun worship (Fig. 69). The Unterglauheim bucket, the type of which is known as situla, has the swanboat too (Fig. 73). Among these situlae is a group found in the Venetian area of the Hallstatt circle of the Illyrian culture. Five are of particular interest to our question; of these, three were found in northern Italy at Trezzo (Fig. 70), Sesto Calende (Fig. 71), and Certosa di Bologna (Figs. 77, 78). The other two were discovered in the Austrian Alps at Watsch and Kuffarn. The lid of the Trezzo situla is closest in its pattern to the bowl from Depenau (Fig. 22). The frieze from Trezzo (Fig. 70) uses exactly the same motif as the Zürich bowl (Fig. 36). The stylistic execution is quite similar in spite of the different technique.

The situla from Sesto Calende (Ticino) used more complex scenic ornamentation. Besides zones of concentric circles and a zone of birds (cf. zone of birds on Werder Fig. 50), a pro-

Figs. 60 & 61. Plates from graves at Dottingen, Hallstatt C; Stuttgart Museum. Note: by mistake Fig. 61 is reproduced upside down.

Fig. 62. Segment of the sun disc from Landsdown near Bath, England; British Museum.

Fig. 63. Gold Bowl from Smörkullen (see Fig. 67).

Fig. 64. Gold disc found in Ireland; British Museum (compare Fig. 67).

Fig. 65. Libation on sun disc of dead Osiris to induce resurrection. Sarcophagus of Taho, Early Saitic 650 B.C.; Louvre Museum.

Fig. 66. Gold disc from Glueising, Holstein (compare Fig. 1).

Fig. 67. Gold Bowl from Smörkullen, Sweden; Stockholm Museum.

cession of riding and walking men is presented.<sup>28</sup> The situlae from Certosa di Bologna, Watsch and Kuffarn are even richer in their reference to festival details. These pageantry rites should be described in full in spite of the fact that these situlae are later than our gold bowls, for pageantry rites are very persistent and conservative; they even survived paganism by more than a thousand years. To draw conclusions from these scenes and apply them to an earlier period is thus not too hazardous, particularly if only about two hundred years are involved.

The festival illustrated on the Certosa di Bologna specimen (Figs. 77, 78) is composed of the following parts:

(1) PROCESSION AND SACRIFICE. Riders armed with axes lead four groups of infantrymen, distinguished by different types of helmets and shields. The first three groups carry spears; members of the fourth group are armed with axes. These groups perhaps represent different clans or communities; anyway, each one stands for a much larger group in reality. After them comes a sacrificial bull followed by men with large hats and also by women who carry on their heads boxes with utensils for the ceremonies, just as peasant women still do today. Two men carry a huge vessel on a pole; two others carry a smaller one in their hands. Next comes a ram to be sacrificed followed by another group of men and women. Two men represent the next group, one with a bucket of the same type as the bucket of Certosa di Bologna itself. His follower has a big sword of the Hallstatt type over his shoulder and a big axe in his right hand, both to be used in the ceremonial killing of the sacrifices. A dog walks behind him.

(2) RITUAL PLOWING. The large horns of the two following head of cattle suggest bulls in spite of the fact that the sex is not further indicated. They are driven by a peasant who carries a plow. In connection with the preceding scenes, it can only mean that he just performed a ceremonial plowing, which was not only customary in early Greece (Triptolemos, his name meaning "the one who draws three furrows," was the companion of Demeter and Persephone) but in northern Europe too, where three furrows were ceremonially drawn, as the rock carvings in Sweden reveal.

(3) SACRIFICE. Now comes another part of the festival showing things which are happening at the same time. Two men, representing an orchestra sit before an altar-like object decorated with a frieze of birds and a meander pattern. At each end is a head of a beast of prey, either lion, bear or big dog. Each is devouring a victim; the one on the right a hare, the one on the left a man. This indicates that there might have been sacrifices of men and animals on this altar. The animal heads may also symbolize animal-shaped gods or their holy animals. To the left stands a priest, as indicated by the hat, and behind him a servant who drags a boar on its back legs to the altar. Above the boar is an eagle, another symbol of a god. It is significant that above the bull led by a priest we have also a flying bird similar to the one above the cattle before the plow-carrier. The animals may therefore be sacrifices about to be killed; the birds are either birds of death or birds of the corresponding gods.

(4) GYMNASTIC GAMES. While the orchestra plays and during the sacrifices, or immediately after, something else happened, a kind of Olympic prize fighting. This is indicated by

*Fig. 68. Gold Bowl from Devils Bit, Tipperary, Ireland.*

*Fig. 69. Bronze vessel from Lavindsgaard in which 11 gold bowls with horsehead handles were found.*

*Fig. 70. Bronze situla with lid found at Trezzo, Northern Italy.*

*Fig. 71. Situla from Sesto Calende.*

*Fig. 72. Procession with libation bowls along a sanctuary wall.*

*Fig. 73. Rim from bronze situla from Unterglauchheim. Note: by mistake this Figure is reproduced upside down.*

*Fig. 74. Fresco from Knossos with ritual scene and libation bowl, Minoan.*



Fig. 68



Fig. 69



Fig. 70



Fig. 71

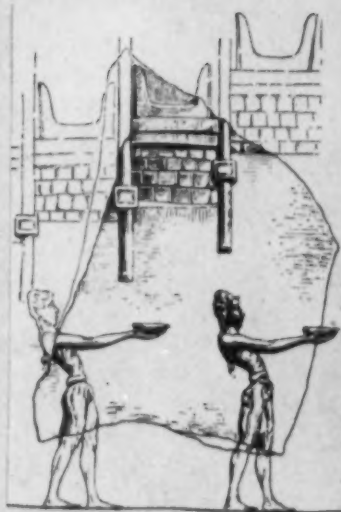


Fig. 72



Fig. 73



Fig. 74



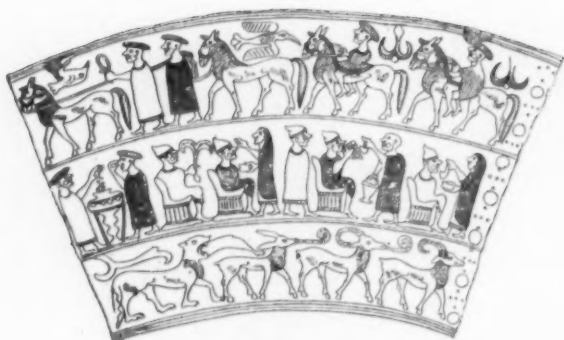


Fig. 75

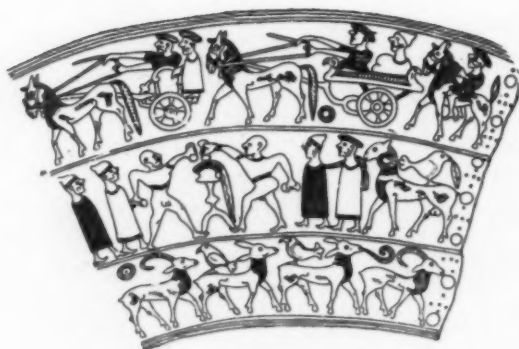


Fig. 76

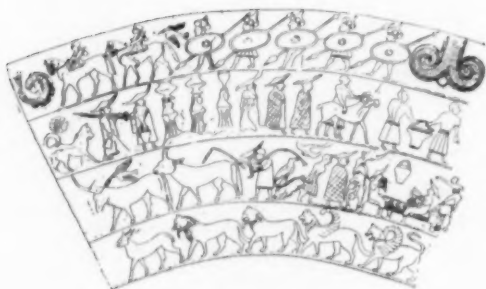


Fig. 77



Fig. 78

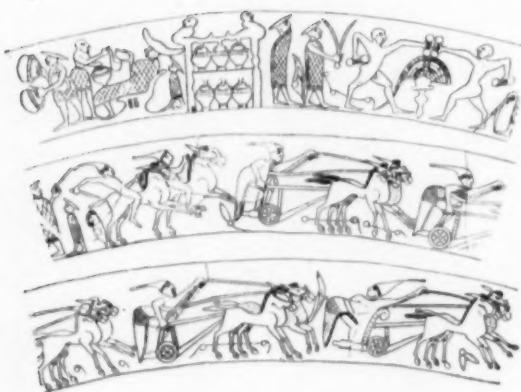


Fig. 79

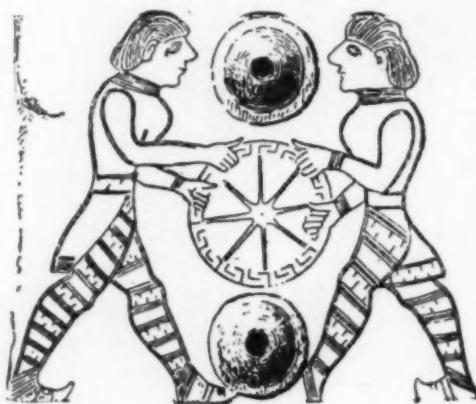


Fig. 80

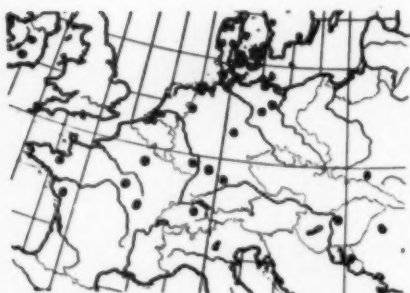


Fig. 81



Fig. 82

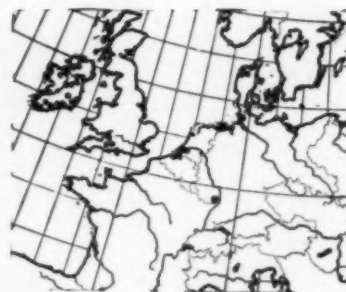


Fig. 83



the two men soaring over the musicians in fist fighting positions. This scene becomes clear by comparison with the corresponding scene on the vessels of Watsch and Kuffarn. The prize for the fight, a situla of bronze, is pictured between them.

(5) LIBATION. At the same time libations are offered. Two priests flank a tripod out of which one is scooping the contents with a ladle. Two other men bring to the altar a deer which is hunted as symbolized by the dog which accompanies them. Then we see a hunting scene—men with rattles or something similar chase a hare into a snare; the landscape is indicated by a stylized tree. The fourth ring zone shows a stag, conventional lions and winged mythical lions, of the last-named, one is devouring a human leg. This zone indicates hunting quarry, such as the stag and lions and demons which during this religious feast devour human bodies offered to them. Perhaps it is an abbreviated mythological story. The human sacrifices may represent magic feedings of demon-like beings or gods. We will come back to the libation scene afterwards because here we see a use of a cup which may correspond to that of the gold bowls.

The friezes on the bucket from Watsch, Province of Krain (Figs. 75, 76), picture the same feast but with other details which therefore give us new clues. The procession is opened by two chariots. A model of a ship, clearly recognizable by the bird bow and stern (swanboat), indicates that this is a carnival procession. The *carrus navalis*, the ship on a cart, was the center of the old carnival procession which was a spring festival celebrating the return or "resurrection" of nature. On the fragments from the bucket of Meclo, a boat on a chariot is also shown very clearly. Almgren stressed that such festival processions existed in the Nordic Bronze Age and are pictured on the rock carvings in Sweden. The symbolic meaning of this ship chariot is emphasized by the addition of a sun disc under the chariot between it and the horse (cf. sun boat, Fig. 69). Here it may be said only that it was believed that the sun traveled in a boat; thus the boat became an attribute of the sun. For example, one hundred gold boats were found in Denmark (Copenhagen Museum), each one having the sun disc engraved on its side. A rider follows this *carrus navalis*. Then come two horses each led by a man. Since a bird is represented as soaring above each horse, these animals must be interpreted as sacrifices to the sun god. The two riders who follow probably have a religious significance also because, besides participating in the procession, each is followed by a symbolic double hook.

In the second ring zone we see a fist fight scene; the prize is a helmet which has been placed on a tripod. Two men with ropelike objects on their shoulders similar to those carried by the two who lead the sacrificial horses, are leading a sacrificial ram. Two men stand beside a vessel; one is mixing the contents, the other smelling it. This scene recalls the use of *kykeon* which was employed in the Eleusinian mysteries as early as the seventh century B.C.<sup>20</sup> and indicates that the performance is part of a religious act.

This zone also portrays four men seated on comfortable chairs. One holds a plantlike hooked symbol, the same sign as that which appears behind the horses, as mentioned above. To three dignitaries drinks are offered. One has a pan flute in his hand, so evidently a band plays here too. One woman offering a bowl lifts her hand as though she were uttering a ritualistic formula.

Figs. 75 & 76. Scenes on the situla of Watsch.

Figs. 77 & 78. Scenes on the situla from Certosa di Bologna.

Fig. 79. Scenes on the situla from Kuffarn.

Fig. 80. Scabbard from Hallstatt, detail with disc.

Fig. 81. Distribution of gold bowls.

Fig. 82. Distribution of Lunulae.

Fig. 83. Distribution of gold discs.

This fits quite well a solemn ceremonial drinking act—something like the *minne* ritual performed in *amore et memoria*, as reported from late pagan times. The lower frieze pictures a lion or wolf or dog devouring the leg of an animal. Then goats follow which are indicated as sacrifices by birds and a sun disc.

The bucket from Kuffarn in Lower Austria (Fig. 79) describes parallel scenes which make it clear that the same feast is meant; but in addition to this, horse races and chariot races are pictured which show that the program of contents included not only fist fights but were much more comprehensive. Behind the winning charioteer, who turns his head backward, a bird is attached. This may signify that the winning horse team might be sacrificed *ob frugum eventum* in a ceremony similar to that employed later by the Romans. The fist fighters are flanked by two men; one holds a two-pronged rod upward, the other (only fragmentarily preserved) downward. It may be the same symbol as the one which the seated man pictured on the Watsch bucket has in his hand. It may indicate that the competition is going on in behalf of the god of whom the rod is the holy symbol.

The scene depicting the offering of a drink is of special interest again because the servant on the left has two bronze vessels in his hands which correspond to those found in the grave at Unterglauheim where, besides the situla, two gold bowls were found. The other servant is filling the drinking cup with a ladle corresponding to the ladle-like cups of Lavindsgaard (Fig. 29), found together with a big bronze vessel (Fig. 69). The decoration includes a frame work in which hang six buckets. These may indicate a festival place where a beverage was stored for use at the feast. Whatever interpretation one gives the details, it is sure that the scenes pictured on these bronze vessels are of religious festivals performed after traditional ritual, reiterated in the same customary and permanent form again and again. During these festivals cups and ladle-like cups were used in connection with bronze vessels. We have the same combination in the Lavindsgaard and Unterglauheim finds decorated significantly with birds and a sun symbol. The bird in connection with the sun wheel is not merely a stylistic combination but reveals a religious mythological idea.

After Almgren's research on rock carvings, there is no doubt that there existed in northern Europe during the second millenium B.C. religious feasts during which magical rites were performed. He also adds evidence that parts of the same festival rites survive today in seasonal peasant festivals. Research by Hoefler<sup>30</sup> supplements Almgren's conclusions in an excellent way. He showed that secret societies of men carried on these ceremonial traditions in pre-Christian times. Later on, guilds of craftsmen took over the execution of these traditions. Secret organizations also continued to exist which performed the rites.

Karl Spiess<sup>31</sup> tried to reconstruct from folk customs the main features of the old Indo-European religious feasts and came to the conclusion that three details are always present: gymnastic contests; dances with dramatized scenes (Leich); eating sacrificial animals and *minne* drinking. These festivals were either held in connection with ancestor worship or with seasonal rites. The Christian church called this act of ritual drinking in *amore and memoria* (in love and memory). As reported it was often associated with the reciting of proverbs. A libation was poured before the celebrant of the *minne* actually

drank. It was so deeply rooted by tradition that for the pagan gods the church substituted saints John, Michael and Gertrud, who became patrons of the rites.

Some complications followed this action. From the end of the fourth century A.D. on, complaining clergymen often mention that in the New Years' processions an old woman and a stag (*cervulum et vetulam*) were represented by mask bearers. Bishop Aribio from Freising (southern Germany) received complaints about the Bavarians which stated that they drank *minne* for Christ and the old pagan gods at the same time.<sup>30</sup> St. Bonifacius later forbade the custom in these words: "non licet in ecclesia choros saecularium vel puellarum cantica exercere nec convivia in ecclesia praeparare" (it is not permitted that secular choirs or girls sing in churches or that food and drink be prepared). In fact the church significantly started each prohibiting law with the same phrases: "si quis manducat aut bibat juxta fana" (if someone eats or drinks besides *fana*. *Fana* means a holy place like a spring, a tree or rock).<sup>31</sup>

Both Gertrud and Michael are the old guides of the deceased. Therefore the *minne* drinking was a magical support not only to the living but to the dead as well. Archbishop Hincmarus of Reims wrote to his clergymen in 852 about the meals prepared for the dead: "No priest is allowed to participate in the annual celebration or in that of the 30th, 7th or 3rd day after the death of a person, or, on other occasions where priests are present, to intoxicate himself or even to follow the request to drink in memory and love (*minne*) of a saint or the souls of the dead or to suggest to someone else to do it, nor may he permit that shameful plays be performed with a bear or dancing girls or that masks of demons be carried called *talamascas*, because all this is the work of the devil and forbidden by holy laws."<sup>30</sup> The masks obviously represented the deceased and ancestors as we know from antique Roman burials. These ecclesiastical documents are about 1500 years younger than the Bronze Age, but if we realize that the church had to struggle against deep rooted customs at this comparatively late date, then we have to suppose that in earlier<sup>32</sup> times similar rites existed.

This conclusion was borne out by Swedish Bronze Age rock carvings which reveal to us that magic was then exercised on a very large scale. We must, therefore, conclude that from its beginning the drinking of *minne* was also a magical performance. We know that the east branch of the Indo-Europeans living at the time our gold bowls were produced believed the drink to be the water of life. *Soma* or *Homa* or *Amrita* was the juice from the tree of life and gave life. It is interesting to note that the grapevine was planted around



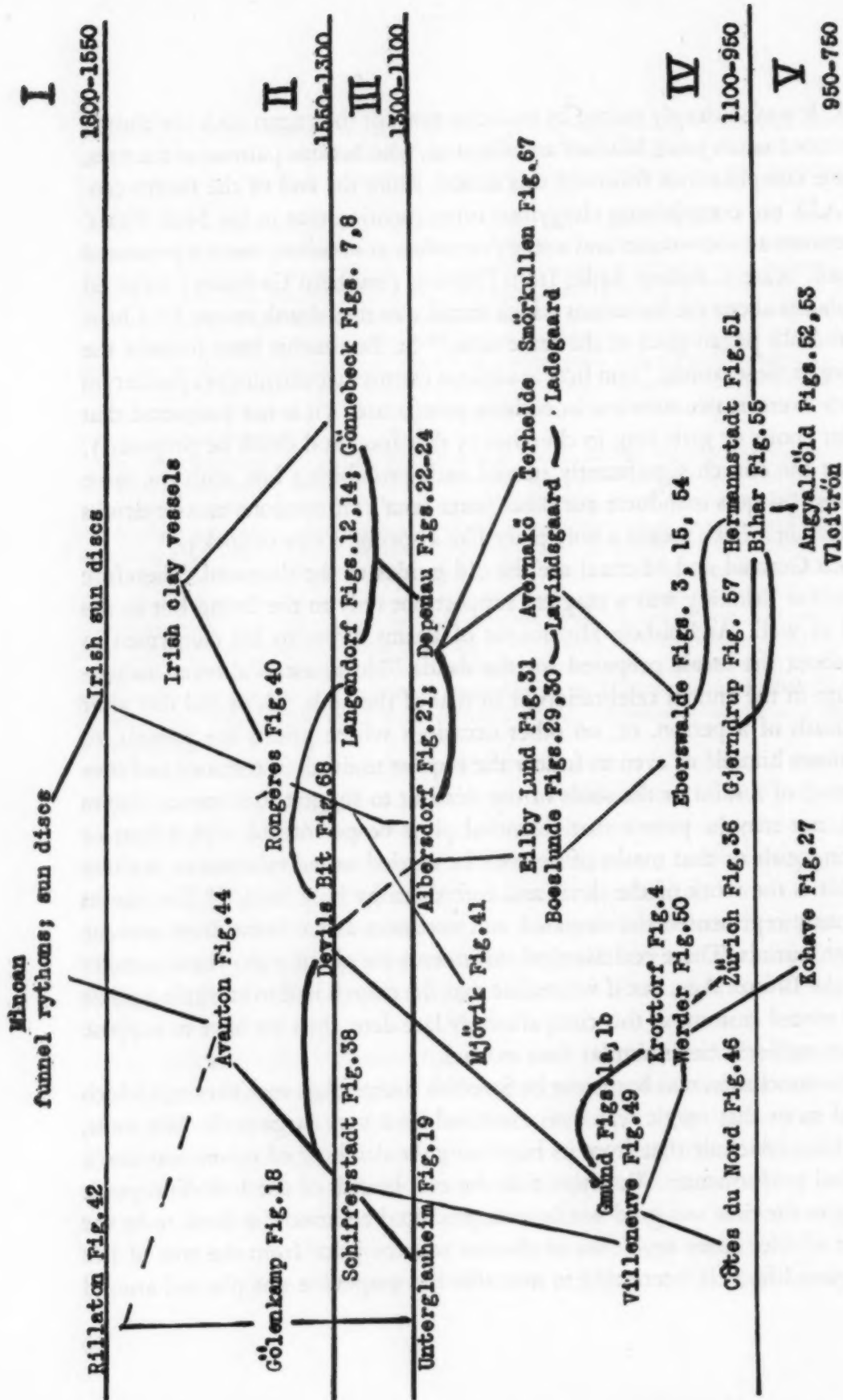


Fig. 84



the Mesopotamian temples and that the word for temple in Babylonian denotes "tree of life." By association, therefore, wine was also a life-giving liquid or "water of life." In the areas farther north, grain was fermented. In those regions beer or mead was considered the drink of life. This is still more understandable if we recall that the use of wild grain for fermented liquors was the prime stimulus leading to its domestication. How deeply rooted the custom of libation was in early Greece is well told by Martin P. Nilsson.<sup>29</sup>

The importance of ceremonial drinking in the Minoan culture, one of the main components of the later Greek culture, is clearly shown in some significant pictures from the palace in Knossos, which show the connection of this practice with the cultic rites in an unmistakable manner (Fig. 73). In the center of the mural, the priestess lifts with both hands pairs of crossed holy double axes. Singing dancers who probably intone mythological stories flank her, one bearing a cup for libation or *minne* drinking. Another carries a big vessel or cantharos. The well-known sarcophagus from Hagia Triada, Crete, reveals that the same libations took place in the worship of the holy tree, the tree of life; and in connection with the ancestor cult where a boat was carried. Figure 72 is a fragment depicting a procession in front of sacred buildings decorated with horns. Bowls are solemnly carried, which proves beyond doubt that they served in sacred rites of libation. These pictures from Crete, which as we have shown had a definite influence on the Northern culture, are of very high value because they are contemporary with, and even older than, most of the gold bowls.

The subsequent Greek culture also employed libation rites as shown by the libation phialae of the seventh century B.C. which were usually fabricated from bronze sheets. Ornamentation consists of rosettes or crosslike stars with star-filled circles grouped around the center and in general character is not too remote from that found on the prehistoric gold bowls.<sup>33</sup>

The prevalence of libation in Greece is definitely indicated in the Iliad, especially in the passage (XXIII) describing the cremation of the corpse of Patroclus,<sup>34</sup> which Wilamowitz-Moellendorff attributes to an Aolian poet antedating Homer. The libation of honey, oil and wine plays an important part in the cremation ceremony and bears out the contention of E. Rhode<sup>35</sup> that such rites were a very old tradition in Greek religion. An important link

Fig. 84. Time chart showing relationship of Gold Bowls through different periods.

between these Greek customs and those of the North is found in the fact that the Dorians originated in the Hallstatt area and later moved down into Greece.

All the evidence which we have accumulated indicates that the gold vessels were designed primarily for use in the libation ceremony—the drinking which accompanied it was merely a gesture. This will explain why most of the Western Group<sup>36</sup> are flasklike in shape. Our conclusion is also supported by the very form of even the bowls with their thin, sharp, flat rims—most inconvenient for drinking as the author discovered when he tried to drink from different specimens.

The performer of the libation ceremonies was probably a priestlike dignitary who wore the bracelets and other trinkets which accompanied our finds as insignia of office, as many mayors still do in European cities. We know definitely that the small Irish sun discs were attached to the garments of persons with priestly or ritualistic functions and we have already shown that these ornaments were associated with libation. This is also actually pictured in the relief (Fig. 65) on a Saïtic sarcophagus of the seventh century B.C., which also illustrates the practice of placing sun discs on the heads of the deceased, a practice quite common in the New Empire and later. We might note here that the similarity of the ornamentation on sun discs and gold bowls corroborates the contention that both had related religious functions.

Much corroboration is also given to the libation theory by the nature of the surroundings in which the finds were discovered. Gönnebeck and Unterglauheim were found in graves, the former so richly furnished with gifts that the person with whom they were buried must have been a dignitary. All the other finds come from "hoards." None bear evidence of being merely "buried treasure," hidden by the owner to be recovered at a later date. In most cases they are clearly sacrificial deposits, placed in the ground as gifts to the gods.

The six hoards found at Gölenkamp, Boeslunde, Eilby Lund, Smörkullen and Terheide were all uncovered on hills commonly used for worship in prehistoric times. Those from Avernakö, Smörkullen, Depenau, and Werder came to light from under huge stones. The Lavinsgaard find was recovered from a peat bog—a religious depository in prehistoric times. Eight times the deposits were unearthed in fields where no traces of settlements were observed, this having occurred at Langendorf, Ladegard, Mjövik, Albersdorf, Gmünd, Krottorf, Zürich and Eberswalde. Most significant, as emphasized before,

was the location of the two Boeslunde finds which were taken from a temple mound, thus establishing definitely their ceremonial religious nature.

In view of the foregoing, it becomes very clear that the assumption of earlier writers that the gold bowls served a purely secular purpose is scarcely tenable and that it is difficult to deny their ceremonial function. Probably of greater importance, however, is the light which these conclusions throw on Bronze Age culture. It is obvious that any culture which had developed long-standing ritualistic customs could scarcely be on the "barbaric" level which we have been accustomed to attributing to those remote Europeans.

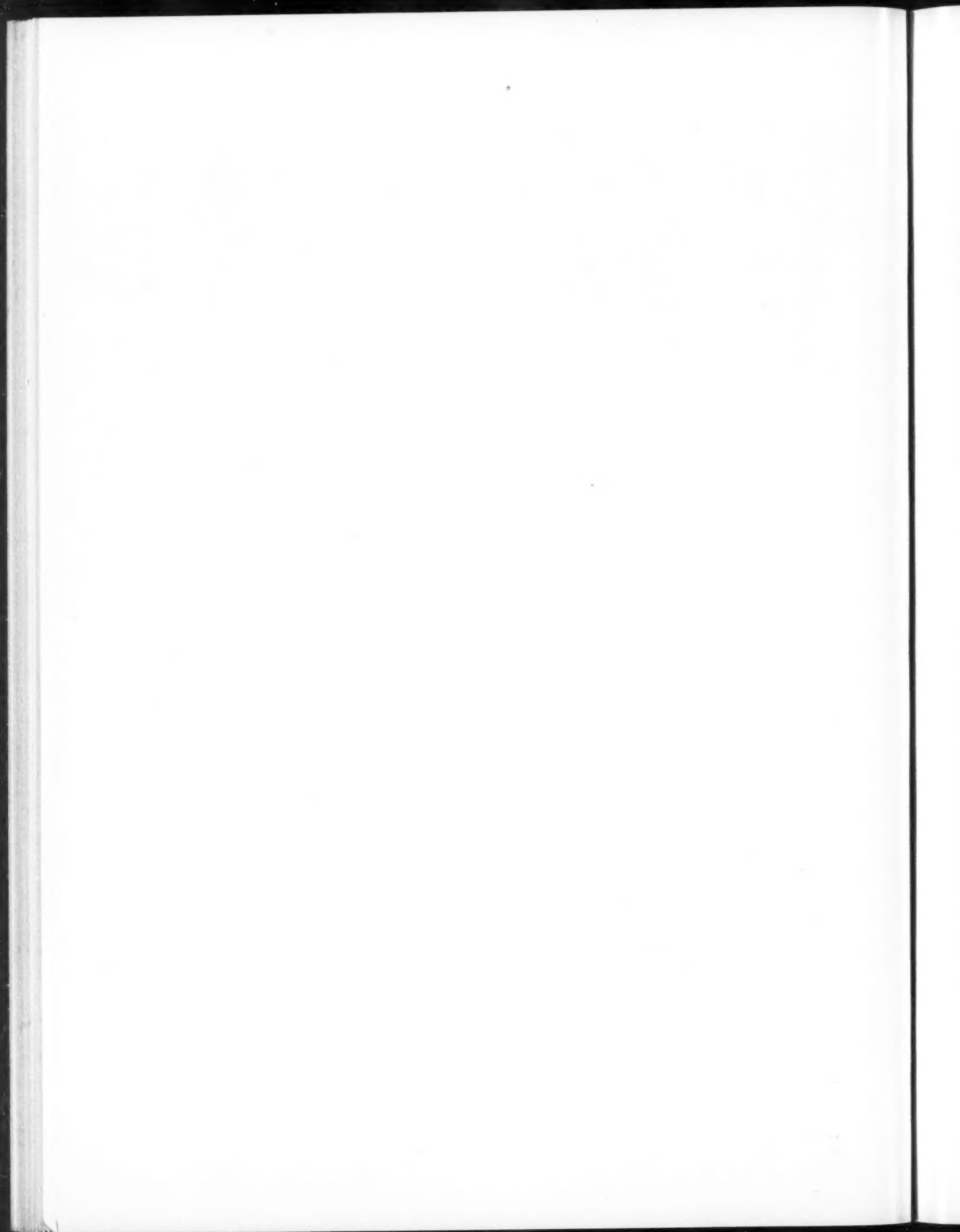
<sup>1</sup> R. Benedict, *Culture Pattern*, New York, 1936, p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Sweden, Stockholm Museum: Mjövik—1; Smörkullen—1; total—2. Denmark, Copenhagen and Aarhus Museums: Avernakö—6 (1 lost); Boeslunde—4; Boeslunde—2; Eilby Lund—3; Gjerndrup—3 (2 lost); Kohave—2; Ladegaard—2; Lavindsgaard—11 (2 lost); total—33 (5 lost). Germany, Berlin, Kiel, Stralsund, Hanover, Burgsteinfurt, Halle, Augsburg, Munich Museums, and Detroit Museum USA: Albersdorf—2; Depenau—2; Eberswalde—8; Gmünd—1; Gölenkamp—1; Gönnebeck—1; Krottorf—1; Langendorf—2; Schifferstadt—1; Unterglauheim—2; Werder—1; total—22. Switzerland, Zürich Museum: Zürich-Altstetten—1. France, Louvre:



- Avanton—1; Rongères—1; Villeneuve St. Vistre—2; Nesmy—2 (2 lost); Côtes du Nord—1 (1 lost); total—7. England, British Museum: Rillaton—1. Ireland: Strafford—1 (1 lost); Devil's Bit— (1 lost); total—2. Hungary, Vienna, Budapest Museums, British Museum: Bihar—4; Angyalföld—4; total—8. Romania, Bruckenthal, Hermannstadt Museum: Transylvania—1. Poland, Lwow Museum: Michalkov—1. Bulgaria, Sofia Museum: Vlcitrön—5. Grand total—83 (10 lost and 4(?) of footnote 27).
- <sup>2</sup> Literature dealing with the gold bowls in general: G. Kossinna, *Der Goldfund von Messingwerk bei Eberswalde*, Leipzig, 1913; C. Schuchhardt, *Der Goldfund von Messingwerk bei Eberswalde*, Berlin, 1914; H. Hahne, "Allgemeines über Goldgefäße der Bronzezeit," *Vorzeitfunde aus Niedersachsen*, II, 3; O. Menghin, "Ursprung und Entwicklung der germanischen Goldgefäße des Bronzezeitalters," *Festschrift für Hans Seger, Altschlesien*, Breslau, 1934, V, 179-193. E. Sprockhoff, *Zur Handelsgeschichte der germanischen Bronzezeit*, Berlin, 1930; G. Kossinna, "Neue Goldgefäße aus Frankreich," *Mannus Ztschr. f. Vorgeschichte*, VI, 1914. See under the names of the sites: *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, 15 vols., Berlin, 1924-32.
- <sup>3</sup> O. Montelius, *Minnen Från Vår Fornitid*, Stockholm, 1917.
- <sup>4</sup> G. Kossinna, *Die Deutsche Vorgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1934.
- <sup>5</sup> G. Kossinna, "Die goldenen Eidringe," *Mannus Ztschr. f. Vorgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1917, vol. VIII.
- <sup>6</sup> O. Montelius, "Ett fornitaliskt bronskärl," *Fornminnens Föreningens Tidskrift*, Stockholm, 1900, vol. XI.
- <sup>7</sup> Pre-Benacci of Aberg. N. Aberg, *Vorgeschichtliche Kulturkreise in Europa*, Copenhagen, 1936.
- <sup>8</sup> W. Kropf, *Die Billendorfer Kultur*, Leipzig, 1938.
- <sup>9</sup> G. Childe, "The Antiquity of the British Bronze Age," *American Anthropologist*, XXXIX (1937), 1-22.
- <sup>10</sup> Museum Speier, *Führer durch die Vorgeschichtliche Abteilung*, n.d. C. F. Hawkes, *Prehistoric Foundations of Europe*, London, 1940; before P. Bosch-Gimpera . . .
- <sup>11</sup> P. Bosch-Gimpera, "Relations préhistoriques entre l'Irlande et l'ouest de la péninsule ibérique," *Prehistoire*, vol. II, 1933.
- <sup>12</sup> A Minoan libation bowl of silver was found in Byblos; see A. Evans, *Palace of Minos*, II (1928), 655.
- <sup>13</sup> The author wishes to express his appreciation to the directors of the Louvre, Paris, for information and photographs.
- <sup>14</sup> J. Dechelette, "Les trésors de Rongères et de Villeneuve-Saint-Vistre," *Monuments Piot*, XIX (1912), 2.
- <sup>15</sup> O. Montelius, *Minnen Från Vår Fornitid*, Stockholm, 1917, p. 51.
- <sup>16</sup> Pictured in G. Lechler, *0005 Jahre Deutschland*, Leipzig, 1936, p. 94, figs. 293, 294.
- <sup>17</sup> O. Almgren, *Hallristningar och Kultbruk, Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar*, Stockholm, 1927, p. 35.
- <sup>18</sup> Ipek, *Jahrbuch für Prähistorische und Ethnographische Kunst*, 1928, p. 25.
- <sup>19</sup> Schlesisches Museum für Kunstgewerbe und Altertümer, *Führer durch die Vorgeschichtliche Abteilung*, Breslau, 1920, pl. 14.
- <sup>20</sup> Dermot O'Connor, *Keating's History of Ireland*, 1723; see W. R. Wilde, *A descriptive Catalogue of the Antiquities of Gold in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy*, Dublin, 1862, p. 8.
- <sup>21</sup> A. Rieth, *Vorgeschichte der Schwäbischen Alp*, Leipzig, 1938, p. 127.
- <sup>22</sup> V. Tompa, "Goldfund von Angyalföld," *Archaeologiai Értesítő*, Budapest, 1928, XLII, 306 ff.
- <sup>23</sup> P. Reinecke, "Ein neuer Goldfund aus Bulgarien," *Germania*, IX (1925), 50-54.
- <sup>24</sup> The two bowls of Unterglauheim (Fig. 19) had been coupled together by gold wire too, which indicates that they were used as twin vessels for libation. We have only one study on historic and prehistoric twin and triple vessels by Grohne. He showed that in both periods libation was prevailing. E. Grohne, *Die Koppel, Ring und Tüllengefäße, Bremer Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft*, VI, 1932.
- <sup>25</sup> R. Hadaczek, *Złote skarby Michalskowskie*, Cracow, 1904.
- <sup>26</sup> Four gold cups "from Yugoslavia" were purchased by the Walters Art Gallery which are forgeries according to a letter by Dr. J. Hillebrand (Budapest Museum) of May 28, 1940. They contain stylistic elements which we would expect, linking them with bronze cups as well as gold bowls. If forgeries, they could have been created only by an expert who had studied the whole material in question, which seems to me an unlikely assumption. The matter should be investigated again particularly since Herbert Kühn considers them genuine finds (communication by letter).
- <sup>27</sup> It is of importance that the well-known La Tène scabbard from Hallstatt shows, besides the engraved procession of foot soldiers and cavalry, a scene where two men are turning a large disc decorated with an eight-spoked star (Fig. 80) just like the one in Figure 3.
- <sup>28</sup> M. P. Nilsson, *Greek Popular Religion*, New York, 1938.
- <sup>29</sup> O. Hoefler, *Kultische Geheimbünde der Germanen*, Frankfurt, 1934, I.
- <sup>30</sup> Spiess, *Das Arische Fest*, Vienna, 1933.
- <sup>31</sup> Just as the church in Western Europe struggled with the pre-Christian libation, so also did the early Christian church in the Hellenistic area. It was even made part of the initiation of the new convert to libate and drink honey, milk and wine. How common libation was in early Hebrew tradition may be concluded from the frequency it is mentioned: Zech. 13:1; 14:8; Joel 3:18; Ezek. 47:1-12; Prov. 10:11; 13:14; 16:22; Ps. 26:9-10; Isa. 41:17; Jer. 25:15-27.
- <sup>32</sup> W. Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes*, New York, 1929, p. 67.
- <sup>33</sup> H. V. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Die Illias und Homer*, Berlin, 1916. He places the Achilleis writer at 750 B.C. and identified him with Homer. The Patroclus burial must be dated after 900 B.C.
- <sup>34</sup> E. Rhode, *Psyche*, Freiburg, 1894, I, 231, 233, 337.
- <sup>35</sup> In this paper the terms Celtic for the Western group, Germanic for the Northern and Illyrian for the Eastern group are used in the sense of Proto or Primeval Celts, Germans and Illyrians, since these groups are the forerunners of the later historic peoples.

RECENT IMPORTANT  
ACQUISITIONS  
OF AMERICAN COLLECTIONS







JEAN-HONORE FRAGONARD, *The Letter or Spanish Conversation*  
*The Art Institute of Chicago*

## THE RECENT ACQUISITIONS

### "THE LETTER" OR "SPANISH CONVERSATION"

(La Missive ou La Conversation Espagnole . . .)

A notable addition to the collection of drawings in the Art Institute of Chicago is the recent gift of Tiffany and Margaret Blake of *The Letter* or *Spanish Conversation* by Jean-Honoré Fragonard. Other titles under which this drawing is also known are: *Femme assise sur un sofa, surprise par un homme qui lui porte une lettre* (Woman seated on a sofa, surprised by a young man who is bringing her a letter) and *La Surprise* (The Surprise).

The first owner, Jean-Baptiste Pierre Lebrun (1748-1813), was the husband of the famous painter, Mme. E. L. Vigée-Lebrun. He was a painter, etcher, writer and art dealer who conducted sales of works of art regularly in Paris. Our drawing, which Lebrun may have acquired directly from Fragonard, was sold in Paris on April 11, 1791, together with an important group of paintings of all European schools and mounted drawings. The next recorded owner, the Duc de Montesquiou-Fezensac, is said to have kept the drawing in a portfolio, a fact which would have contributed to its extraordinary state of preservation and freshness. During this period, however, it seems to have been rarely seen and though Portalis mentions it, his description is rather vague so that he may not have examined it.

"Only after its rediscovery by a French art dealer and its subsequent sale to D. David-Weill did it really become known and soon it was recognized as one of the most brilliant examples

of Fragonard's draughtsmanship which is known to us today." (Exhibition catalogue "Drawings Old and New," Art Institute of Chicago, 1946.)

### A ROMANESQUE ANNUNCIATION FIGURE IN THE WORCESTER ART MUSEUM

The Worcester Art Museum announces the acquisition of a French Romanesque sculpture representing the Annunciation of the Virgin which is reported to have come originally from a church in the Pyrenees region. One of the most important medieval sculptures to enter an American museum in recent years, the figure is of marble, carved in high relief and measuring slightly over five feet in height. Like other monumental sculpture of the period, the Worcester figure formed part of the architectural decoration of a wall surface and must originally have been framed in a niche of which the attached colonettes and capitals are still to be seen.

In style it shows a close relationship with the twelfth century sculpture of northern Catalonia. Characteristic of the epoch is the frontality of the pose, its rigidity in this case modified by the beautiful rhythm of the drapery which falls in heavy folds to the feet, and the strongly linear treatment of the drapery and facial features. In this respect it recalls the style of manuscript illumination of the period which, along with the other so-called minor arts such as ivory carving and metalwork, were the source of inspiration for the stone carver.

Plastic values are not, however, sacrificed to the linear handling of surfaces since the sculptor has succeeded in expressing the volume of the forms beneath the garments and achieves a



The Hon. Sir Charles Flower, Lord Mayor of London  
Sir Thomas Lawrence

## NEWHOUSE GALLERIES

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FRENCH ROMANESQUE, XII CENTURY, *Annunciation Figure*  
*Worcester Art Museum*



a sense of mass in the very compactness of the figure. It is interesting to note the exaggeratedly large hands placed palm outward in the *orans* or praying gesture which has its parallels in other representations of the standing Virgin in Romanesque scenes of the Annunciation as well as the Ascension.

#### A SILVER ÉPERGNE OF THE CHIPPENDALE PERIOD

BY FISKE KIMBALL

By gift of Mrs. F. S. Crofts of New York, the Philadelphia Museum of Art has acquired a remarkable silver épergne by Edward Romer, London, 1773, which has been in America since its making, descending in the Livingston family to the donor.

A large pierced oval basket is supported on a stand of which the most striking feature is a Chinese pagoda-roof with hanging silver bells, covering another oval basket. Eight circular baskets are supported by eight branching arms, four of these dishes being suspended by bails. The piece stands 22 inches high and is 26 inches long over all.

The artistic treatment is characteristic of just this moment in English decorative art, with survivals of *rocaille* scrolls making the scalloped borders of the baskets, their focal points being marked now not by cartouches but by classical rosettes, which, like the garlands of husks suspended between them, reflect the incoming Adam style.

While in the third edition of Chippendale's *Director*, 1759-1762, the rococo is still in full swing, certain drawings at the Victoria and Albert Museum, possibly intended for a fourth edition, never issued, begin to show an admixture of classical motifs under the influence of Robert Adam who had begun his work in 1759, and after 1768 Chippendale was working entirely from Adam's designs. Here, five years later, we see the mixture still persisting in silver-work.

#### A ROCK-CRYSTAL CARVING BY GIOVANNI DEI BERNARDI DA CASTELBOLOGNESE

BY MARVIN C. ROSS

The acquisition by the Walters Art Gallery of a rock-crystal plaque carved with the scene of "Christ before Pilate" brings to light another charming work by this able Renaissance gem-cutter which hitherto had been known only through bronze and lead plaquettes and a brief mention by Vasari.

The scene on the crystal illustrates Pilate seated with a sceptre before a classical portico and with an ewer standing beside him. A short stubby Christ is led before him surrounded by His accusers, some of them apparently Jews and others Roman soldiers. On the lower portion is the inscription IONNES-F. The style of the carving, the type of composition and the lettering of the artist's name all compare favorably with other authenticated crystal carvings by Giovanni dei Bernardi, leaving no doubt that it can be attributed to his own hand. The gold, enameled and jeweled frame is of a later date.

Giovanni dei Bernardi was born at Castelbolognese in 1499 and is known to have died at Faenza in 1543. He was greatly admired in his day and Saba di Castiglione sang his praises as the greatest gem-cutter of the times. Even Benvenuto Cellini, puffed up with self-esteem, deigned to praise him. He received the patronage of great art connoisseurs of the day such as Pope Clement VII, Charles V, Alessandro Farnese and Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici. This esteem has carried over into our own day and his crystal carvings and the bronze plaquettes cast after them are much sought after. His work has been generally brought to light by such eminent scholars of today as E. Kris

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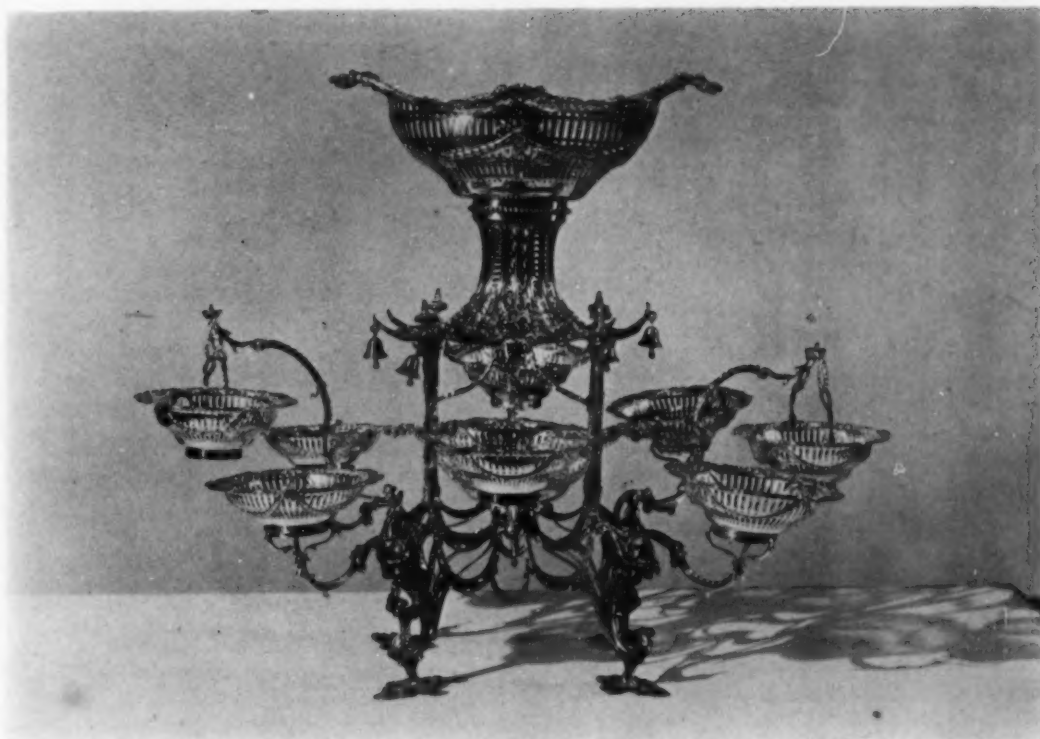
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*Silver Epergne of the Chippendale Period  
The Philadelphia Museum of Art*



*GIOVANNI DEI BERNARDI, Rock-Crystal Carving  
Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery*

and V. Slomann so that we have now an excellent idea of what this Renaissance gem-cutter was capable of accomplishing.

Vasari and the letters of the gem-cutter himself describe a series of crystal plaquettes which Giovanni dei Bernardi carved in at least two versions, one in 1539, one in 1547. According to Vasari the following subjects were represented in the series of 1546: the "Birth of Christ," "Christ on the Mount of Olives," "Betrayal of Christ," "Christ before Caiaphas," "Christ before Herod," "Christ before Pilate," "Crowning with Thorns," "Raising on the Cross," and the "Resurrection." Of these the "Birth of Christ" is known only through bronze plaquettes. The "Christ before Herod" was unknown to Kris. The "Christ before Pilate" has been until now only known to the literature on the subject from bronze and lead plaquettes. Thus the recently acquired Walters' plaquette forms a significant addition to the artist's identified *oeuvre*.

So far it has not been possible to separate the crystal plaquettes of the Passion series into groups. It has already been pointed out that written records mention that Bernardi did two sets but he may possibly have done more since he was very popular and his work very much in demand. Perhaps a sufficient number of other examples will in the future turn up and be published and then the various existing crystal plaques can be grouped together in sets.

#### A "STILL-LIFE" PAINTING BY CHARDIN

"Chardin was the first to paint the optical appearance instead of the intellectual significance of the thing seen. A whole revolution in our conception of things had to take place before the

pictorial outlook of Chardin could be reached. The spirit that moved Monet to find beauty in a haystack, or Whistler in a 'Pile of old Battersea Bridge' is the same as that which moved Chardin to search for it on a kitchen table." So writes E. A. Furst in his masterly discussion of the life and works of Chardin. A superb illustration of the verity of this statement is the Springfield Museum of Fine Art's latest acquisition, *Rafraîchissements* by Jean-Baptiste Siméon Chardin (1699-1779). This large oval canvas, signed and dated "Chardin 1764," is, as are so many of the master's paintings, a successful solution of the problem of light. It is this keen interest in and appreciation of light, which was Chardin's inheritance from the seventeenth century Dutch school of painting, that makes of this painter's work the bridge to the experimental schools of nineteenth century France. "All modern art, insofar as it aims at optical truth, is influenced by Chardin, through the medium of the great school of French Impressionism," says Furst. He points out that "Chardin is the first one who paints things intentionally as they appear, not as they are; he reproduces merely their impression on his optic organs. This was a tremendous step in advance. He was the first to free art from the stifling habit; viz., the habit of seeing things intellectually, and consequently rendering them not as they actually appear but as we know them to be constructed.

"Sight being eternally dependent on light it is natural that Chardin's keener sight should have placed greater importance on light than on any other constituent of a picture. Things present themselves to Chardin's brain—as we may deduce from his pictures—primarily as objects making the beauty of light visible—its refraction, reflection and deflection."

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JEAN-BAPTISTE SIMEON CHARDIN, *Rafrâichissements*  
Springfield Museum of Fine Arts



Thus in looking at the Springfield Museum's new purchase one is immediately impressed with the extraordinary glowing quality of each individual object. Each part of the composition seems to emit a light toned by the color of the particular object. The white of the napkin on the table glimmers as the reflected light from a fine pearl, the orange in its turn sends out to the spectator's eye its own colored brilliance, so too do the grays of the ducks' feathers, the blue-greens on the porcelain sugar bowl and the rich browns of the bread combine to produce a harmony of glowing colored lights.

The plasticity, the color and the texture make of the painting an immediately appealing composition, the sheer beauty of which can be caught at a glance. Of equal significance is the painting's value in estimating the strength of a great aesthetic tradition—the consciousness of light in pictorial representation.

The museum's painting was first exhibited in the Paris Salon of 1765 (entitled *Rafraîchissements*, no. 48). At that time the French critic Diderot made the following comment on this particular picture:

"If a connoisseur could have only one Chardin this should be the one for him to have; the artist has reached maturity. He has sometimes painted as well, but never better. Hung by the foot is a river bird; on the buffet below are whole and broken biscuits, a corked bottle with olives, a covered dish of china, an open napkin carelessly thrown down, a loaf on a bread board, a half-filled wine glass. It is this picture which illustrates that there are no objects unworthy of depiction, the real point being the manner of their depiction. The biscuits are yellow, the bottle green, the napkin white, the wine red; and this yellow, this white, this red, arranged in opposition recreate in the eye a perfect harmony. Do not think that such harmony can result

from indeterminate handling, vague and inept; not at all, it is accomplished with a most vigorous procedure."

Formerly part of the renowned Jacques Doucet collection, it was purchased at the auction of that estate in 1912 for John W. Simpson, Esq. of New York, from whom the museum has just purchased the painting.

## THE VIRGIN AND CHILD BY ANDREA DELLA ROBBIA

BY E. P. RICHARDSON

This gift of Mr. and Mrs. Walter O. Briggs is one of the most notable pieces of Italian Renaissance sculpture which has come into the collection of the Detroit Institute of Arts. It is a relief of great monumental quality. The figures are life size, the color severely simple, the sentiment dignified and touching. It is a unique composition by Andrea della Robbia; no other repetitions of it are known. In style it belongs to his middle period (about 1490-1500) in the height of the relief, the amplitude of the forms, the simplicity of the draperies and the charming treatment of details such as the Christ Child's curling hair. The style is a little later than that of the relief, dated 1489, in the lunette over the entrance portal of the Cathedral of Prato, and may be related in period and style to the large altarpiece by Andrea in the Capella Medici of the Church of Croce, Florence, the large altar at Camaldoli, and one of the altars at La Verne, all dated by Marquand in the 1490's (nos. 79, 262, 291).

This places the work at the time of the ascendancy of Savonarola, the Dominican preacher whose eloquence transformed



The Faun by Peter Paul Rubens  
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ANDREA DELLA ROBBIAS, *Madonna and Child*  
*The Detroit Institute of Arts*

and ruled the city of Florence from 1494 to 1498, and excited a decisive influence upon artists as diverse as Michelangelo, Botticelli and Andrea della Robbia. The Della Robbia were among his most devoted followers: Andrea took part in the fight at the convent of S. Marco in his defense and was afterward "admonished" and for two years deprived of some of his civic rights by Savonarola's victorious enemies. Two of his sons became monks in S. Marco and another son became a lay brother in the same monastery. Andrea della Robbia is an example of the strength of the old faith in spite of the intellectual paganism and decay of ethical standards in the Renaissance. In spirit, as in his subject, he represents at the very end of the fifteenth century the devotion and the ardent faith of the medieval artist. His Madonna is a heavenly vision, represented with the halo of beatitude against the serene azure of heaven, in which float clouds and two cherubs with folded wings. With a grave and gentle expression she holds her Child seated upon her knee. He leans slightly forward and raises his hand to give a blessing to humanity. His face is that of a charming baby yet thoughtful, dignified and benign. The relief is an expression of medieval faith translated into the tender and human imagery of Renaissance art.

In this work, Andrea is as severely simple in style as his uncle Luca had been. The relief itself is in white and blue, with traces of gold faintly visible on the borders of the Virgin's veil and mantle. The eyebrows and pupils are in his characteristic dark violet. In the graceful base he has inserted a few small color accents—a green wreath and yellow, green and violet fruit. But the overall effect is of the simple blue and white. The sculptural power of the relief is deceptive. It seems at first glance altogether simple, natural and intimate; yet it is grand,

monumental and powerful, designed to fill and decorate a large wall with its decorative strength.

The Della Robbia, the most popular of the sculptors of Tuscany, owe their fame to the unusual combination in their work of artistic greatness, technical originality and a form universally pleasing and understandable. Every true work of art is of course an imaginative image, whether the artist uses imagery close to the common way of seeing or far from it. It exists first as an imaginative idea or intuition in the artist's consciousness, which is gradually shaped and embodied in a work of design. But it seldom happens that an artist's imagery is so easy and natural, so instantly and transparently understandable, while being at the same time on the highest level of artistic inspiration and style, as are the works of the two first and greatest of the Della Robbia.

About the year 1440, Luca della Robbia invented the process of glazing terra cotta sculpture and firing it like pottery. This was a new technique. It had the ease and rapidity of modeling in clay, yet the work had the whiteness and permanence of marble and the rich, unfading color and the lustre of glazed ceramics. The process brought him fame and for thirty years his workshop was busy with orders.

The nephew, Andrea (1435-1525) was trained by his uncle, who shared with Andrea's father, Marco, the family home on the Via Guelfa, a commodious house with a garden, where much of Andrea's work was to be done. Andrea gradually became Luca's principal assistant and when the uncle retired shortly after 1470, the nephew became the head of the busy and flourishing workshop. He had married in 1465 and had, in all, seven sons, three of whom became accomplished artists and to one of whom, Giovanni, the workshop passed in 1525.

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ALBERT P. RYDER, *Siegfried and the Rhine Maidens*  
Washington, D. C., National Gallery of Art, Mellon Coll.



Andrea's long life almost spans the Tuscan Renaissance. He was born while Brunelleschi and Donatello were at their height. Vasari tells us in his life of Andrea that "When I was a child I remember that he said to me that he had been one of those who carried Donato (Donatello) to his grave, and I recall with what pride the worthy old man spoke of this." When Andrea died in 1525, Leonardo and Raphael were already dead and the Florentine Renaissance movement was at an end. Andrea belongs to the middle generation, with Verrocchio and Benedetto da Maiano, and was one of the great Tuscan sculptors of the closing decades of the fifteenth century.

The present relief was unknown to Marquand when he published his book on Andrea della Robbia. It had been mentioned by Cavallucci and Molinier in their book *Les Della Robbia* (Paris, 1884) when it belonged to the Lazzeri family, who had it at their villa of San Donato, Casellina e Torri (Florence). It was purchased a generation ago by Luigi Grassi of Florence and brought to America. Dr. Valentiner published it with a reproduction in the catalogue of our exhibition, "Italian Sculpture, 1250 to 1500" in 1938. Reviewing this exhibition in *Critica d'Arte*, C. L. Ragghianti created some confusion about the piece. He knew it apparently from an old photograph taken at San Donato and supposed that the piece shown in Detroit was a second version. There is, however, only the one piece.

Some years ago the personnel of the Ford Hospital gave the museum a small but fine medallion by Andrea della Robbia, representing the head of a young man within a wreath of fruit, as a memorial to Mr. Edsel B. Ford. It is interesting to see how this, hanging in the same gallery as the large relief, seems more beautiful now—as if these two works helped each other to reveal the noble style and deep feeling of their creator.



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## RECENT PUBLICATIONS

SWEET, FREDERICK A. and SCHNIEWIND, CARL. *O. George Bellows, Paintings, Drawings and Prints*. Art Institute of Chicago, 1946, \$1.00. The catalogue of a careful and illuminating exhibition, this is a useful permanent reference.

*Paintings and Sculpture from the Kress Collection*. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C., 1945. 200 plates, \$1.00.

JAMOT, PAUL. *Georges de la Tour*. Paris, Floury, 1942.

A book, knowledge of which has been delayed by the war, which the author was working on at the time of his death. The unfinished MS and notes, supplemented by his previous articles, were completed and published by M. Jamot's niece and literary executor, Mme. Thérèse Bertin-Mourot.

JAMOT, PAUL. *Introduction à l'histoire de la peinture*. Paris, Plon, 1943.

The article on "painting" written originally for the 14th edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica, was later rewritten and largely augmented by the author. Portions of the new essay were issued separately in 1934 and 1938. This posthumous edition of the complete essay, also edited by Mme. Bertin-Mourot, is marked by M. Jamot's characteristic fine sensibility and critical acuteness.

*Etudes d'Art*. Published by the Musée National des Beaux-Arts, Algiers, under the direction of Jean Alazard, 100 francs.

This first issue of a new publication on the history and criticism of art, issued by the youngest of the French museums of art (founded 1930), contains articles by the Norwegian scholar, the late Jens Thiis, on Manet and Baudelaire; by Louis Brehier on the influence of decorative themes in Oriental textiles upon Romanesque sculpture; by Georges Marçais on the history of the decorative form of the four-lobed square in Gothic art; by Louis Gielly on Liotard as an Orientalist; by Jean Alazard on the origins of Impressionism; and by René Guignard on Goethe's judgments on Italian art; as well as a section of notes on artistic activities in Algiers and elsewhere.

## SIEGFRIED AND THE RHINE MAIDENS BY ALBERT P. RYDER

From a news release

A recent addition to the Mellon collection in the National Gallery of Art in Washington is the well-known painting *Siegfried and the Rhine Maidens* by the great American artist Albert P. Ryder. The painting was acquired with funds provided by the late Andrew W. Mellon and the A. W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust.

Ryder has not been represented heretofore in the Gallery's collection and the acquisition of this distinguished example of his work—one of the few remaining in private hands—makes an important addition to the collection of American paintings which can now be seen in the National Gallery.

John Walker, Chief Curator of the National Gallery, commenting on this painting, said that it was one of the five or six canvases which most clearly reveal the originality and stature of Ryder, who is now generally considered the most poetic of American painters. The spellbound valley, the gaunt trees silhouetted against stormy clouds, the suggestion of the mystery and elemental power of nature, are all characteristic of Ryder's romantic imagination. *Siegfried and the Rhine Maidens*, as the late Roger Fry once wrote, suggests the poetry of Poe and Coleridge and the music of Schubert. "But," Mr. Walker added, "it also finds a closer analogy to that very personal and symbolic beauty, which distinguishes the writings of another great American Romantic, Herman Melville."

The painting, which has been in all the important exhibitions of Ryder's work, was acquired from the artist by Sir William Van Horne and remained in his collection until it was purchased for the National Gallery of Art.

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